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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 May 1985

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

#### PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS IN NEXT 4 YEARS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 50, 10 Dec 84 pp 36-37

[Article by staff special reporter Wang Chongjie [3769 1504 2638] in column "Changing World Situation": "What Are the Prospects for Soviet-U.S. Relations?"]

[Text] Special dispatch from Moscow--Recently in the Soviet-U.S. relations of sharp confrontation there have appeared some indications of a trend toward flexibility. The two sides have agreed to hold new talks on a complete set of questions covering relevant nuclear weapons and outer space weapons. To this end, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz on 7 and 8 January next year in Geneva will specifically decide through consultation the content and aim of the talks. Washington and Moscow have not begun to talk about the question of what time a meeting of the heads of state of the two countries will be held.

The history of U.S.-Soviet relations is complex and the current situation is extremely grim. The most recent information put out by Moscow and Washington has been varied, and even mutually contradictory. Therefore, exactly how the mutual relations between the two superpowers will develop and change in a future period of time has become the focus of world attention and the conjectures are diverse and confused.

#### Affecting a High Moral Tone and Adopting a Pose

The Soviet and U.S. leaders have in recent times constantly expressed their willingness to improve the relations between the two countries. When the U.S. presidential campaign activities were beginning to enter the intense stage, Gromyko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and concurrently foreign minister, took the opportunity of attending a UN conference to go to the White House and hold a long discussion with U.S. President Reagan, who already had gained the upper hand in the general elections. This was an important probe by the two sides for readjusting the relations between the two countries in the next 4 years. Gromyko expressed the Soviet Union's willingness "to achieve regularization and overall development in Soviet-U.S. relations," and to carry out with America "earnest talks on restricting and reducing armaments." Reagan said: "If the Soviet Union seeks to preserve peace through talks, then it will get a reasonable deal from the

U.S. Government." Soviet Leader Chernenko on 17 October, when answering a WASHINGTON POST reporter's question, declared that the Soviet Union "advocates the establishment of good relations with America," and he stressed that "this can be achieved."

On the day that Reagan won his victory in the general elections, he immediately sent the signal that he was willing to improve U.S. relations, and he thought the possibility of a summit conference between the two countries was much greater than it was before. On the heels of this, in the congratulatory telegram he sent to Chernenko on the occasion of Soviet National Day, he wrote: "America is prepared to conduct constructive talks on arms control and a series of questions," and is dedicated to improving the working relationship between the two countries. On the day after Reagan's campaign victory, The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet sent a telegram, hoping that in the next several years there would be signs of relations between the two countries "turning in a good direction," and saying that it was prepared to "make a common effort" to "rectify Soviet-U.S. relations." On 17 November, when answering a question put by a reporter of America's National Broadcasting Company, Chernenko said that a Soviet-U.S. summit conference "could powerfully promote constructive developments in mutual relations," and that, although at present there are not the necessary conditions for a summit "when conditions are ripe it will not be difficult to decide on the time for a summit." On 26 November, when receiving British Labor Party leader Kinnock, he said that the Soviet Union was willing to "seek a plan for the most thorough solution" with America of the problem of restricting nuclear arms.

Compared with the previous period of time in which the Soviet Union and America fiercely "traded curses," the atmosphere has obviously relaxed. Whether discussed separately or together, there is no way to keep clear of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, and outer space weapons. However, Moscow and Washington are both waiting for the other side to turn its "empty talk" into practical action.

#### New Talks, Old Problems

The Soviet Union and America have agreed to hold new talks, but what they face are old problems. Whether discussed separately or together, there is no way to keep clear of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, and outer space weapons. This is just like three apples, which, no matter whether they are separately put in three baskets or all put in one basket, they are still three apples.

The so-called new talks will focus on the talks held by the Soviet Union and America in the past. The Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on limiting intermediate-range guided missiles in Europe began on 30 November 1981, and on 23 November 1983 it was announced that they had broken down. During the course of these nearly 2 years of talks, America wanted the Soviet Union to dismantle SS-20 intermediate-range guided missiles, but the Soviet Union would not do this; the Soviet Union wanted America to abandon its deployment of Pershing-II guided missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe, but America was unwilling to do so. The result was not only that not one missile was reduced and there was no limit put on any weapon, but also, batch by batch, new-type

U.S. missiles were sent to Federal Germany, Britain and Italy, and a large batch of Soviet missiles were deployed in Democratic Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the shadows of missiles more densely enveloped the European continent. On 22 November, when announcing that the Soviet Union and America had agreed to hold new talks, [Luomeike], director of the Information Department in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that unless America withdrew its cruise and Pershing missiles from Western Europe there would be no resumption of the talks, which had broken off, on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Officials in Washington then asserted that America would not, in order to promote the talks, unilaterally stop its action of deploying nuclear missiles in Europe. The increasing number of intermediate-range missiles not only thoroughly buried the Soviet-U.S. talks a year ago, but also are threatening the new talks between the two sides that have not yet begun.

Because each side wanted to strengthen itself and limit the other side, the talks held by the Soviet Union a year ago in Geneva on limiting strategic weapons also fizzled out, and each side's means for strategic strikes grew swiftly.

The Soviet Union and America have been bickering for a long time over the question of outer space weapons. Moscow has recently put particular stress on reaching an agreement to stop the militarization of outer space, thinking that America is, through its "Star Wars" plan, trying to make itself invulnerable to retaliation and thus exert pressure on the Soviet Union. Washington immediately publicly declared that the Soviet Union was in the lead in the field of outer space weapons, and insisted that it had to test and develop weapons in this respect.

The Soviet Union and America had just issued communiqus that they were preparing to hold new talks when they started to criticized each other. Moscow firmly maintained that America was seeking to gain military superiority, and was completely responsible for the intensification of the arms race and the sharpening of the international situation; it stressed that up to now it had not seen any specific constructive measures taken by Washington with regard to Soviet-U.S. talks. U.S. National Security Affairs Adviser Macfarlane on 25 November stressed: "It will take 4 years to achieve progress in Soviet-U.S. talks," "the Soviets have consistently violated treaties and have haggled in the talks, and they should understand what a concession is."

#### A Long, Difficult Journey

"Will the next 4 years be a period of relative tranquility or its opposite? Will the White House go even further along the path of confrontation with the Soviet Union?" This was a question recently asked by Soviet newspapers.

From a look at the commentaries published in the Soviet press, we see that the views on this question of the political commentators in the Soviet Union are not completely identical. One view holds that Soviet-U.S. relations could once again return to the "period of detente" in the seventies. The other view holds that with Reagan in power for another 4 years "the Soviet-U.S. period of confrontation will continue for 4 more years," or that is to say, "This will

mean 4 more years of uneasiness, conflict situations, arms race, and tottering on the edge of the nuclear missile (catastrophe) abyss." Still another view maintains: "The point of departure for the U.S. Government up to now, as well as its point of departure in the next 4 years, is to regard the Soviet Union as its number one enemy. And this predetermines the basic principles of America's policy toward the Soviet Union, particularly in the military domain. The goal that (America) has formulated in the past several years of modernizing its arms, and of expanding the arms race into outer space and into the domain of conventional weapons, will probably remain its goal in the future. But even if this is not the case, certain revisions in carrying out this line cannot be ruled out."

These views of Soviet public opinion quarters reflect from one side the complexity of Soviet-U.S. relations now and in the future period.

Since entering the eighties, the overall confusion between the two superpowers has already reached a degree of extreme intensity. The intense arms race not only has made the burden on the laboring people even heavier, but also has caused an unprecedented increase in the danger of war. The confrontation between the Soviet Union and America in various parts of the world has also created vacillation and instability in the international situation, and has made the solution of many acute problems slow in coming or unattainable. The people of the whole world, including the people of the Soviet Union and America, intensely hope for peace, hope for improvements in their material and cultural life, and oppose war and aggressive expansion. If reason can slightly prevail, the Soviet Union and America should as fast as possible take practical measures to limit, reduce, and destroy their colossal nuclear weapon arsenals, so as to promote a relaxation in the tense international situation. However, looking at the present situation, this means making a considerably long and difficult journey.

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CSO: 4005/487

GENERAL

NEWS ANALYSIS EXAMINES POLISH-UK RELATIONS

OW172004 Beijing XINHUA in English 1907 GMT 17 Apr 85

["News Analysis: Geoffrey Howe's Visit to Poland and Anglo-Polish Relations (by Wen Youren)"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe's recent 3-day visit to Poland shows that Anglo-Polish relations--which have improved over the past 2 years--are likely to get even better.

In part, Poland tried to use the visit to break from the isolation it entered at the end of 1981, when martial law was imposed. Although the strained relations between Poland and the Western countries began easing after the Polish authorities lifted martial law in 1983, and announced a general amnesty, the progress was slow.

But in the last 2 years, Anglo-Polish relations thawed, and economic exchanges between the two countries increased. For example, the Polish-British Joint Commission on economy, industry, science and technology held its first session in 3 years last October.

British Foreign Minister Malcolm Rifkind visited Poland last November, the first visit of a British official since martial law was imposed.

Director of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade R. Karski and Polish premier's advisor made visits to Britain in succession last December.

Then there was Howe's visit, which boosted the level of exchanges between the two countries.

The Polish newspaper RZECZYPOSPOLITA (Republic) remarked on 11 April that the British foreign secretary's visit will help the two nations return to the era of good relations experienced in the 1970s. More specifically, Poland sought to use the visit to convince Howe to further expand its trade ties with Poland.

In East-West trade, Britain is Poland's second largest trading partner in the West, and Poland is Britain's second largest trading partner in the East. The past 2 years saw a notable development in trade between

the two nations. Poland's export volume to Britain in 1984 was close to a record 55 billion zlotys ([figure indistinct], U.S. dollars), a 70 percent hike over 1981. One-third of Britain's sulphur is imported from Poland.

During the visit, Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski told Howe that his country hopes to promote economic and technical cooperation with Britain, improve trade and increase cultural exchanges. Likewise, the British foreign secretary said strengthening trade ties was one of the major goals of his tour.

A problem linked with trade is Poland's debt to Britain, one of its major creditor nations. Poland has failed to make payments on loans because of the economic difficulties it suffered during the 1980 labor unrest and the economic sanctions by Western nations.

Polish Vice-Premier Edward Kowalczyk expressed hope on 9 April that the British foreign secretary would exert his influence on the settlement of the debt problem. At the end of the visit, Howe said Britain is prepared to discuss trade in connection with the question of loans to Poland.

Another major economic issue between the two nations is British aid for the construction of Polish factories. After martial law was imposed, Britain froze its loans for the construction of a tractor plant in Ursus and a chemical factory in Wroclaw. The action caused heavy economic losses in Poland.

Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, at a banquet in honor of his British counterpart, said concluding the stalled loan agreements was of great importance to developing Polish-British relations.

Howe's visit brought forth certain degree of progress but did not result in full normalization of relations between the two countries. The RZECZYPOSPOLITA noted that the normalization could be reached only when Britain lifts all sanctions against Poland.

CSO: 4000/187

GENERAL

PHILIPPINES, USSR TO SET UP BARTER TRADE PACT

OW112052 Beijing XINHUA in English 2001 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Manila, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--The Philippines and the USSR will formulate a new barter trade pact, the Philippine news agency reported this evening.

Mrs Marcos and Soviet ambassador Yuriy Sholmov discussed here today the mechanics and the list of products to be exchanged in the proposed barter trade pact.

The idea of establishing the pact was advanced by Sholmov in response to a call by Mrs Marcos for widening trade and cultural exchanges between the two countries during her stay in Moscow last month while attending the funeral of the late Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko.

The Soviet ambassador said that details of the proposed barter trade agreement would be taken up by trade officials of both countries at future meetings to be held either in Manila or Moscow.

CSO: 4000/183

SOVIET UNION

BRIEFS

NEW MEXICAN GOVERNOR RECEIVED--Beijing, 13 Apr (XINHUA)--Vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Zhou Gucheng met a delegation from New Mexico of the United States of America, led by its Lieutenant Governor Mike Runnels here this afternoon. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0844 GMT 13 Apr 85 OW]

MAYORS DELEGATION VISITS U.S.--Beijing, 13 Apr (XINHUA)--A five-member delegation of Chinese mayors left here today for the United States to attend the 11th annual convention of the U.S. National Conference of Black Mayors and pay a friendship visit at the invitation of the U.S. National Conference of Black Mayors. The delegation led by Zhu Zhihui, mayor of Kunming in Yunnan Province, includes mayors of Urumqi in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and of Lhasa in the Tibet Autonomous Region. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 13 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4000/183

NORTHEAST ASIA

NAKASONE, USSR'S GUZHENKO WANT IMPROVED RELATIONS

LD112345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Tokyo, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and visiting Soviet Minister of the Merchant Marine Timofey Guzhenko both expressed the hope that relations between the two countries would develop further.

At the meeting here today, Guzhenko stressed the need for "incentives," noting that the Soviet Union attaches special importance to increased economic and cultural exchanges with Japan. He added that the time had come for actions rather than words in order to improve relations between the two countries.

Nakasone replied that Japan would work toward developing relations with the USSR. He said that despite the fundamental issue of the northern territories troubling relations between the two countries, Japan would still put forward in the near future its initial Japan-USSR cultural agreement and the Japan-USSR initial tax treaty. The Japanese prime minister said the time had come for high level exchanges between the two countries.

The Japanese people, Nakasone stressed, were most concerned about the issues of peace and disarmament, and it was Japan's hope that the Soviet Union would treat these issues with sincerity.

Speaking on Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's proposed visit to Japan, Guzhenko said at a press conference this afternoon that preparations were now underway. Once these were completed, Guzhenko said, Gromyko would make the trip to Japan.

Guzhenko arrived in Japan on 7 April at the invitation of the Dietman's League for Japan-USSR Friendship.

Guzhenko met with Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe on 8 April. They exchanged views on bilateral economic cooperation and cultural exchanges as well as on the northern territory issue.

CSO: 4000/183

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

HU TO DISCUSS TIES WITH SOUTH PACIFIC COUNTRIES

OW170256 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 17 Apr 85

["Hu Yaobang To Discuss Cooperation With Leaders of Three South Pacific Countries"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 17 Apr (XINHUA)--Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang is scheduled to confer with leaders of Western Samoa, Fiji and Papua New Guinea on issues of common concern, both bilateral relations and safeguarding peace and stability in Asia and the South Pacific during his visit there from 21 to 23 April.

Hu Yaobang is now paying a goodwill visit to Australia. The tour will take him on to New Zealand from 18 April.

Observers here note that Hu's visit will help strengthen the amicable ties between China and these three countries.

Like Western Samoa, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, China is a Third World country and attaches great importance to developing its relations with them on the basis of peaceful coexistence. China established diplomatic relations with Western Samoa and Fiji in 1975 and with Papua New Guinea in 1976.

During the past decade, relations between China and these three countries have progressed smoothly and contacts at the personal level increased daily.

Head of State Malietoa Tanumafili and former Prime Minister Tupuola Efi of Western Samoa, Prime Minister Kamisese Mara and former Deputy Prime Minister Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau of Fiji and Prime Minister Michael Thomas Somare and four deputy prime ministers of Papua New Guinea have all visited China.

Chinese President Li Xiannian visited Papua New Guinea in the capacity of Chinese vice-premier in 1980. Chinese State Councillor Chen Muhua has been to Western Samoa and Fiji in the capacity of vice-premier. China has also sent cultural study groups, women's delegations and acrobats to these three countries. The visits deepened mutual understanding and friendship.

In recent years, economic relations and trade between China and these three countries have developed in varying degrees.

China exports mainly textiles and light industrial products in exchange for Western Samoa's timber, Fiji's sugar and Papua New Guinea's copper ore.

There has been some success in co-production of vegetables and stadium construction between China and Western Samoa. Major projects between China and Fiji include training bamboo and rattan weavers and technical exchanges in opening up and planting paddy rice. China also trains Papua New Guinea bamboo and rattan weavers.

All this demonstrates that despite recent establishment of diplomatic ties, China's relations with each of these countries have grown fast. Observers here believe that Hu's forthcoming visit will raise the ties between China and these three countries to a new level, especially economic relations and trade on their existing basis.

CSO: 4000/187

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

WU XUEQIAN ADDRESSES NPC ON HONG KONG QUESTION

OW031249 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0850 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 3 April (XINHUA)--Wu Xueqian, state councillor and foreign minister, said that the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong and the successful settlement of the Hong Kong question are important achievements in new China's foreign affairs, as well as the result of friendly cooperation between the Chinese Government and the British Government.

Wu Xueqian said: The settlement of the Hong Kong question is an important event in the modern history of China as well as in the modern history of the world. It marks a big step forward for the Chinese people's endeavor to attain the great goal of reunifying the motherland. It will have farreaching influence on the effort to end the separation of Taiwan and the mainland at an early date and complete the reunification of the motherland. It also provides fresh experience for peacefully settling international disputes, in particular historical problems outstanding between states. It has not only obtained the support of the people throughout China, including the broad masses of Hong Kong compatriots, but has also won widespread welcome and appreciation in the international community.

Entrusted by the State Council, Wu Xueqian made an explanation on his request for the NPC to examine and approve the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong at the Third Session of the Sixth NPC this afternoon. He said: On 19 December 1984, Premier Zhao Ziyang and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, on behalf of their respective governments, officially signed the "Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the Question of Hong Kong". Earlier, on 26 September 1984, the heads of the delegations of the two governments initialed the "Joint Declaration". Entrusted by the State Council, I made a report on China's basic principles and policies concerning the settlement of the Hong Kong question, the proceedings of Sino-British negotiations, the agreements reached, and other relevant matters at the Eighth Session of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee on 6 November 1984. The NPC Standing Committee session expressed satisfaction over the work done by our government in settling the Hong Kong question, and agreed to all the documents in

connection with the "Joint Declaration" initialed by China and Britain. The officially signed "Joint Declaration" is identical to the initialed version. In accordance with a 14 November 1984 resolution of the Eighth Session of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee, Premier Zhao Ziyang submitted the officially signed "Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the Question of Hong Kong" together with three annexes to the National People's Congress for its deliberation and approval.

Wu Xueqian said: The "Joint Declaration" officially signed by the Chinese Government and the British Government has affirmed that the People's Republic of China will recover Hong Kong and resume exercising sovereignty over it on 1 July 1997; and it has made relevant measures for maintaining stability and prosperity in Hong Kong. It has thus satisfactorily settled the issue left over from history between China and Britain, and it completely conforms to the fundamental rights of all the Chinese people, including the Hong Kong compatriots. A job that all previous governments in old China failed to undertake has finally been accomplished by the government and people of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Wu Xueqian said: After we resume exercising sovereignty, we will adopt a series of special policies toward Hong Kong and the policies will remain unchanged for 50 years in order to continue to maintain stability and prosperity in Hong Kong. Those policies include: In accordance with Article 31 of the PRC Constitution, a Hong Kong Special Administrative Region will be established, to be governed by the local inhabitants of Hong Kong and enjoy a high degree of autonomy; the current social and economic systems and the lifestyle in Hong Kong will remain unchanged; the laws currently in force will remain basically unchanged; Hong Kong will retain the status as a free port and an international financial and trade center, and may maintain and develop economic relations with states, regions, and relevant international organizations; and the economic interests of Britain and other countries in Hong Kong will be given due regard. Now, the aforesaid basic principles and policies of the Chinese Government toward Hong Kong have been announced and specifically explained by our government in the "Joint Declaration".

Wu Xueqian pointed out: The "one country, two systems" concept, China's guiding principle in formulating its basic principles and policies on Hong Kong, was advanced by the Chinese leaders on the basis of following the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and respecting history and giving consideration to the present situation. China is implementing the concept "one country, two systems" under the condition that socialism is the mainstay. To let Kong Kong keep its capitalist system for 50 years will bring no harm to China's socialism but will play a complementary role in benefiting China's socialist construction. The "one country, two systems" concept is our firm national policy for reunifying our country. Facts have proven and will continue to prove that this concept is entirely feasible and full of vitality.

Wu Xueqian said: The success of the Sino-British negotiations should be attributed to the wise policy decisions of the leaders of the two countries and the joint efforts made by the two governments. With the settlement of the Hong Kong issue, the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Britain have entered a new historical period. The Chinese Government is full of confidence for a bright future in further developing the relations between the two countries.

Wu Xueqian said: Following the completion of the legal procedure for ratifying the Joint Declaration on the Hong Kong question, instruments will be exchanged in Beijing between China and Britain before 30 June 1985 to put the Declaration into effect. From the date on which the Declaration comes into effect, Hong Kong will enter a period of transition. During this period of transition, the British Government is to be responsible for the administration of Hong Kong, and the Chinese Government will cooperate. According to the agreement, in order to effectively implement the "Joint Declaration" and ensure the smooth transition of political power in 1997, a Sino-British joint liaison group will be set up to exchange information and consult on relevant matters when the Joint Declaration becomes effective. Meanwhile, a land commission made up of Chinese and British officials will be established in Hong Kong to deal with leases and related matters. The all-round implementation of the "Joint Declaration" accords with the common interests of China and Britain. The Chinese Government will make unremitting efforts to carry it out in an all-round manner. It is our conviction that based on the spirit of friendship and understanding, China and Britain will continue to cooperate closely and effectively to achieve the aforementioned common goal.

Wu Xueqian said: Right now, China is entering a new historical period. The political and economic situation in the whole country is extremely fine. The prosperity of the motherland constitutes an important guarantee to Hong Kong's stability and prosperity. Since the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, stability has remained, the economy has prospered, and various undertakings have developed. We deeply believe: Always imbued with the tradition of patriotism, the compatriots in Hong Kong will continue to bring into full play their spirit to become the masters of their own affairs, and make fresh contributions to Hong Kong's stability and prosperity with their own wisdom and talents and hard work.

CSO: 4005/729

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

WU XUEQIAN REPORTS ON HONG KONG QUESTION

OW041002 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] According to our station report, Wu Xueqian, state councillor and foreign minister, made an explanation at the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress held yesterday afternoon on the motion for the deliberation and approval of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the question of Hong Kong.

Wu Xueqian said: Hong Kong, which includes Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories, is part of China's sacred territory from the past. Recovering Hong Kong and upholding the reunification and territorial integrity of our country is the common desire of the descendants both here and abroad of the Huang and Yan emperors, and has been for the past 100 years or so. The Joint Declaration officially signed by the Chinese and British governments has affirmed that the People's Republic of China will recover Hong Kong and resume sovereignty over it on 1 July 1997. It has also stipulated relevant measures for maintaining stability and prosperity in Hong Kong.

Wu Xueqian said: A task that all previous governments in old China failed to undertake has finally been accomplished by the government and people of the PRC under the leadership of the CPC. This is an important achievement in new China's foreign affairs, as well as the result of friendly cooperation between the Chinese and British governments.

Wu Xueqian said: The concept of "one country, two systems--China's guiding principle in formulating its basic principles and policies on Hong Kong-- was advanced by Chinese leaders on the basis of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, respecting history, and giving due consideration to the present situation. China is implementing the concept of "one country, two systems" with the idea that socialism is the mainstay. Allowing Hong Kong to keep its capitalist system for 50 years will not harm China's socialism, but will play a complementary role in benefitting China's socialist construction. The concept of "one country, two systems" is our firm national policy for reunifying our country. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that this concept is entirely feasible and full of vitality. The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the successful settlement of the Hong Kong question are a milestone in the

modern history of China as well as in the world. This marks a big step forward in the Chinese people's endeavor to attain the great goal of reunification of the motherland. This will have farreaching influence on the efforts for an early end to the separation between Taiwan and the mainland and for the complete reunification of the motherland. This also provides fresh experience for peacefully settling international disputes, in particular, outstanding historical problems between states.

Wu Xueqian said: The success of the Sino-British negotiations should be attributed to the wise policy decisions of the leaders of the two countries and the joint efforts made by the two governments. With the settlement of the Hong Kong issue, the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Britain have entered a new historical period. The Chinese Government is full of confidence for a bright future in further developing the relations between the two countries.

Wu Xueqian said: Following the completion of the legalities for ratifying the Joint Declaration on the Hong Kong question, instruments will be exchanged in Beijing between China and Britain before 30 June 1985 to put the Declaration into effect. From the date the Declaration comes into effect, Hong Kong will enter a period of transition. During this transition period, the British Government is to be responsible for the administration of Hong Kong, and the Chinese Government will cooperate. According to the agreement, in order to effectively implement the Joint Declaration and ensure the smooth transition of political power in 1997, a Sino-British joint liaison group will be set up to exchange information and consult on relevant matters when the Joint Declaration takes effect. Meanwhile, a land commission made up of Chinese and British officials will be established in Hong Kong to deal with leases and related matters. The all-round implementation of the Joint Declaration accords with the common interests of China and Britain. The Chinese Government will make unremitting efforts to carry it out in an all-round manner. It is our conviction that based on the spirit of friendship and understanding, China and Britain will continue to cooperate closely and effectively to achieve the previously mentioned common goal.

CSO: 4005/729

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

CAMBODIAN FORCES ATTACK SRV TROOPS AT PREY CHAN

0W151010 Beijing XINHUA in English 0843 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Text] Bangkok, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--The battle for Nong Chan (Prey Chan) camp has entered the eighth day with the Kampuchean resistance forces launching attacks on the Vietnamese positions.

According to a report from Thai border town of Aranyaprathet, Son Sann-led Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces (KPNLAF) Saturday night attacked the Vietnamese troops which were occupying a portion of the Nong Chan Camp. The attack lasted about an hour. The Vietnamese gunners retaliated inside Thailand.

Nong Chan Camp is a major base of the KPNLAF in Kampuchea's northwestern Battambang Province. The Vietnamese troops occupied a large part of it until 5 December. It was reoccupied by the Vietnamese on 7 April this year. The KPNLAF retook more than half of the camp in the past several days. Now the Vietnamese are reportedly holding the area around a reservoir in the north of Nong Chan.

25,000 Kampuchean civilians who had evacuated from Nong Chan and taken refuge on the border moved to the area about two kilometers from Ta Phraya District. As a result, the number of Kampuchean refugees in this area mounted to almost 90,000. This renders it to become the largest Kampuchean refugee camp near the border.

CSO: 4000/183

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

VIETNAMESE TRY TO SEAL OFF THAI-CAMBODIAN BORDER

OW140958 Beijing XINHUA in English 0933 GMT 14 Apr 85

[Text] Bangkok, 14 Apr (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese are trying to weaken the resistance forces in Kampuchea by sealing off the Thai-Kampuchean border. This was revealed to the local press yesterday by Major-General San Siphen whose task force is responsible for the security along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

San said that the Vietnamese had put up barbed wire and planted landmines along the border to block the movement of Kampuchean resistance forces and cut off their supplies. They intended to complete the sealing of the border areas in June, he added. He added that the current Vietnamese offensive against the resistance forces was running into increasing difficulties as rains had started and the resistance forces were harassing Vietnamese positions.

Meanwhile, Thai military and Kampuchean resistance sources noted that the Vietnamese recent attack on Son Sann's military base of Nong Chan was also part of their plan to seal off the border before the rainy season sets in.

The sources predicted that the Vietnamese which are partially controlling Nong Chan might cross the Thai border to outflank the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces (KPNLAF) led by Son Sann, prime minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

A senior commander of the KPNLAF said that about 1,000 Vietnamese troops entrenched around a reservoir in the north of Nong Chan camp were waiting for reinforcements for an all-out onslaught on Nong Chan in a bid to take complete control of the camp.

With speculations of an imminent all-out Vietnamese attack on resistance camps along the Thai-Kampuchean border, Thai frontier troops have reportedly been put on full alert.

CSO: 4000/187

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

NI ZHIFU MEETS HONG KONG, MACAO NPC DEPUTIES--Beijing, 3 Apr (XINHUA)--Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, met this evening with Yang Guang, Tang Xingqiao, Wu Kangmin, and Pan Jiangwei, NPC deputies or CPPCC National Committee members from Hong Kong or Macao attending the Third Session of the Sixth NPC or the CPPCC National Committee meeting, and had cordial talks with them. Ni Zhifu also entertained them at a banquet afterward. Gu Dachun, Luo Gan, Chen Junsheng, and Wang Jiachong, vice chairmen of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; and Wang Luming, advisor to the State Council Office in Charge of Hong Kong and Macao, were also present at the meeting and the banquet. [Text] [OW031954 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1517 GMT 3 Apr 85]

CSO: 4005/787

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

NICARAGUA REJECTS U.S. PEACE PROPOSAL

OW130953 Beijing XINHUA in English 0833 GMT 13 Apr 85

[Text] Managua, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, in a letter to Contadora leaders today, once again rejected the "peace plan" proposed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan last week and appealed for Latin American unity in defending the principle of non-intervention.

In the letter, which was also addressed to some Latin American and European leaders, Ortega described the plan as an ultimatum and "high-handed interference" in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, which it will not accept. Nor will it accept the interventionist policy of aggression, intimidation and coercion, because it is designed to make Nicaragua relinquish its sovereignty and independence, the president said.

Reagan's plan calls for a halt to hostilities between the Nicaraguan government troops and rebels, with a peace agreement to be reached in 60 days. According to the plan, the United States would ask the rebels not to use U.S. aid to buy arms. The plan met with immediate objection from Nicaragua.

Ortega pointed out in his letter that the United States is trying to get Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela--the Contadora group--as well as some Latin American and European countries involved in the plan. He says the U.S. wants their commitment to it. Ortega, however, said the Contadora group will remain neutral.

Ortega cautioned that rejecting the U.S. plan did not mean Nicaragua was refusing dialogues with the United States.

The Nicaraguan president asked Latin America to close ranks. Otherwise, he said, the Contadora group's peace efforts would fail, and the sovereignty of Nicaragua and other Latin American countries would be threatened.

CSO: 4000/183

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU YAOBANG VISITS HUBEI, JIANGXI

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 4, 21 Jan 85 pp 10-13, 21

[Article by Zeng Jianhui [2582 1696 1798]: "Random Notes on Comrade Hu Yaobang's Visit to Hubei and Jiangxi"]

[Text] With the incessant drizzle and the cold wind, the early winter weather in the mountain regions of southern and eastern Hubei and northwestern Jiangxi seemed to be colder than Beijing. On the uneven and muddy roads, the two station wagons carrying General Secretary Hu Yaobang and his party traveled among the high mountains and steep cliffs along the foothills of Mufu and Dabie Mountains. Occasionally, fields which were still green and lush woods swept by. When the cars covered with mud passed through a dense fog and climbed up the mountains, what one saw were sturdy pines and cedars and jade green nanmu branches with strings of icicles and layers of frost and snow. On the road, there were few vehicles and pedestrians and no sign of birds.

The trip was on a tight schedule. Though the mountains were high and the roads slippery, the cars traveled at a good speed, because in the 10 days between 4-14 December 1984, 19 counties and cities in 2 provinces were to be inspected. It was Comrade Hu Yaobang's second field trip in less than 2 months since the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee. The masses in the mountain regions were all happy and excited that the general secretary had traveled a long way from Beijing in the cold winter to visit and discuss with them plans for opening up the mountain regions. Every time when the general secretary emerged from his lodgings on a tour, the people crowded at the door. He always smiled and waved to the crowd waiting voluntarily for his appearance, while the masses shouted joyfully and clapped. From their excited faces, one could see the peasants' simple and sincere feelings for the party.

Accelerating the Construction of Mountain Regions and Further Liberalizing the Policies

In the morning of 5 December, Comrade Hu Yaobang and his party drove from Xianning Wenquan township near the Beijing-Guangzhou railway and soon arrived at the mountain region. The sky was overcast, mist covered the land like a thin veil, and the road twisted and turned, climbing the cliffs and dropping to the valleys.

Some 2 hours later, we arrived at Tongshan, a small mountain town and county seat. In the county government guest house, Comrade Hu Yaobang immediately called a forum, asking the county comrades to brief him on the conditions. Covering an area of approximately 2,410 square kilometers, the county is more than 83 percent mountainous and hilly. Forest coverage is more than 40 percent, mainly pine, fir and tung, interspersed with tea trees and mountain dates and such mountain crops as tremella and medicinal herbs. The numerous lakes are favorable for fishery, and large deposits of nonferrous ores are found. Comrade Hu Yaobang said humorously: Mountains, mountains everywhere. You must open the mountains and raise more fish. You must bring out the strong points of the mountains and develop forestry and mining simultaneously. When the mountains are "opened" and the waters "animated," there will be hope for the region to get rich. He also declared emphatically that, to accelerate the construction of the mountain region, the policies must be further liberalized, and whatever the people can do, they must be boldly given a free hand.

Hubei provincial party committee secretary Guan Guangfu [7070 1684 1381] and deputy secretary Qian Yunlu [6929 6663 6922] suggested that Comrade Hu Yaobang inspect the county's Jiugongshan forest. Comrade Hu Yaobang readily consented and immediately made the trip. Rising high on the Hubei-Jiangxi border, Jiugongshan, over 1,280 meters above sea level, is majestic and imposing. According to local comrades, after his defeat, Li Zicheng, leader of the peasant uprising at the end of the Ming Dynasty, was killed here by the armed landowners, and was subsequently buried here. The higher the cars climbed, the denser became the fog, and the entire mountain was drowned in an endless sea of cloud. Meeting the local cadres at the mountaintop guest house, Comrade Hu Yaobang suggested building the mountain into a tourist and summer resort.

To inspect the forest region, Comrade Hu Yaobang, when visiting Chongyang county the next day, specifically made a tour of its forestry science institute and Guihua tree farm and discussed afforestation with the farm personnel. In Xiushui, he remarked to the county comrades: All along the road, I noticed that logging is rather heavy. State-owned and collective tree farms should give consideration to both logging and planting. It appears that the forestry policy must continue to be enforced. As the people in the forest region are poor, their enthusiasm is not high. We must think of a way, and it is preferable for the state, the collective and the individual to improve together. In Tonggu county, he said: "I feel that authority over mountain forests should be delegated to the lower level, the management system reformed and the contract system introduced, giving autonomy to the forest peasants. State-owned tree farms must implement the responsibility system down to the households, to remain unchanged for an extended time (say 50 years). Only by extending the agricultural and forestry powers to the households and the fishing powers to the boats will the economy be enlivened." He felt that forest peasants should be permitted to convert the twigs and branches and substandard lumber into handles for hoes and sickles. By so doing, the diversified mountain economy will be developed fairly rapidly. He

also said that he did not endorse the practice of building terrace fields on slopes to plant trees. As trees will not grow tall in less than 5 years, there will be soil erosion. He told the county comrades: You can adjust the higher-level decisions according to local conditions. Furthermore, I noticed that only firs are planted on the level terrace fields. When there is only a single kind of trees, insect plagues will easily occur. What you should plant are mixed forests, which will control insects and preserve the ecological balance.

Comrade Hu Yaobang also noticed the bare hills in almost all the counties. More than once, he suggested to the local comrades: Your rainfall is ample and the conditions favorable. Is it feasible for you to mobilize the masses to plant grass on the bare hills? One person can plant 10 mu of bare earth. In 2 or 3 years, 1 mu will produce several thousand jin of grass, enough to feed one cow, thereby developing the livestock industry. The peasants can sell grass seed and receive a benefit in the first year. Even if forage grass cannot be cultivated for the time being, it is good to plant cogon grass, which is strong and can be made into paper. The projects should be launched village by village. When the first one succeeds, the next will follow. Greatly enlightened, the local comrades praised Comrade Hu Yaobang for giving them a good idea.

Comrade Hu Yaobang gave attention to the mineral resources. From the reports of the county comrades, he learned that such resources are rich, and that coal, iron, tungsten, copper, manganese, phosphorus, gold, quartz, limestone and marble are spread over a wide range. He said happily: It is a wide path for the mountain masses to get rich. We must liberalize the policies and permit them to open mines. At a forum in Nanchang, he suggested to first secretary Bai Dongcai [4101 2767 2624] and secretary Xu Qin [6079 0530] of the Jiangxi provincial party committee and provincial governor Zhao Zengyi [6392 1073 4135]: Please consider whether we can open the nonferrous deposits to the people. We can stipulate that, aside from the main reserves developed by the state, the remaining small deposits and remnant reserves of large mines may be mined by the people. Limits around the large reserves may be designated and the people permitted to mine beyond the limits. Some people are concerned that it may lead to "destruction of resources." I feel that, as long as we have the guidance of the unified plans of the state, clear-cut discipline, and earnest inspection and supervision, it can be avoided. We must also emancipate our thinking in this aspect! We must realize that accelerating the development of underground resources is compatible with the overall situation. Comrade Hu Yaobang asked the accompanying responsible comrades of the central government's economic branch to study the issue upon their return to Beijing.

#### Accelerating the Development of Village and Town Enterprises

It was already 4 o'clock in the afternoon when we arrived at Shanggao county sea in northwest Jiangxi. The moment we put our bags down, Comrade Hu Yaobang gathered us in a reception room for a meeting with the county party committee

comrades. In the morning of 7 December, he left from Xiushui county seat and successively visited Tonggu, Yifeng and Shanggao, with no break in between.

Shanggao has been a county with the highest per capita income in Jiangxi for 3 successive years. The county party committee secretary spent 1 1/2 hours to report their conditions to the general secretary. The county has always been a commodity grain producing area. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, they actively implemented the principle of "concentrating on grain and actively developing diversification." Focusing first on improving the unit area yield, they increased the total grain output throughout the county by 50 percent in the 4 years from 1979 to 1982. Beginning in 1980, they withdrew annually 5 percent of the grain area for economic crops, whose acreage expanded to more than 180,000 mu in 2-plus years. In spite of such a big reduction in the grain farming area, the 1984 per capita grain output was 2,000 jin, topping the whole province. Fully utilizing the abundance of grain, they made use of it locally and vigorously developed hog, chicken, duck and fish farming. The 1984 output value from such endeavors increased more than 200 percent over that of 1978, and its proportion among the total agricultural output value rose from the 12 percent of 1978 to 19 percent. They also utilized the abundant agricultural sideline products for food, beverage and feed processing and developed village and town enterprises with their economic crops and mineral resources. The 1984 output value from these endeavors constituted 27 percent of the total agricultural output value, and some products were marketed in Hong Kong, Macao and Japan. The specialized households, constituting about 30 percent of the rural population, demonstrated their vitality. The county's 1984 per capita income of 490 yuan was the highest in the province. In recent years, more than 50 percent of the peasants built new houses. The county party committee secretary summarized their experiences into three things: utilizing grain to develop economic crops, utilizing planting to develop domestic animals and fowl, and utilizing agriculture to develop industrial, sideline and village and town enterprises.

Listening to the reports with a great interest, Comrade Hu Yaobang interposed from time to time, praising their achievements and encouraging them to improve further. He stressed time and again that, to further readjust the rural economic structure, we must boldly accelerate the development of village and town enterprise and promote the processing of agricultural sideline products. He said: I feel that we should, in this aspect, place our hopes in the masses, mainly rely on the cottage industry and combined specialized households, and support the growth of specialized households and villages. We must give a free hand to the peasants to develop village and town enterprises and let them come to the cities to promote the tertiary industry. We must admonish the county and village cadres against the practice of taking control of everything the moment a project is mentioned. It is a major issue of principle and must be made clear.

Along the way, Comrade Hu Yaobang warmly received representatives of the specialized households and villages of the various areas. The Huating brigade in Hubei's Tongcheng county is a famous village specializing in jasmine tea. It is located on a slope in Shinan township. We drove by the

side of the village. Prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, it was extremely poor. Its more than 1,000 population each occupied 0.7 or 0.8 mu of land, with an average per capita income of 80 yuan. The situation looked hopeless. After the Third Plenary Session, they turned their eyes to the slopes and opened the way to get rich. They began to plant tea and build a tea refinery. From 1980 to 1983, their average annual profit was over 280,000 yuan, an increase of 156 times over that of 1979, and paid over 130,000 yuan in products taxes, or 8 times the agricultural tax for the same period. They also sent people to the Zhejiang region to learn the techniques of planting jasmine and processing scented tea. In 1984, the brigade withdrew 10 percent of its farmland (90 mu) and planted 370,000 jasmines and white orchids. They also formed a combined industrial and commercial corporation. The net income of the year from planting, processing and marketing scented tea was over 530,000 yuan, constituting almost 70 percent of the total net income from agriculture and industrial and sideline enterprises. Besides the reserve set aside for brigade enterprises, the commune members' average per capita income came to 508 yuan. Hearing the Tongcheng party branch secretary Li Shuibao's [7812 3055 0202] report, Comrade Hu Yaobang incessantly praised the brigade for its correct path. He inquired about their plans for 1985. Li Shuibao said that they plan to produce and process 8,000 dan of scented tea in the year, an increase of one-third over 1984. Comrade Hu Yaobang wished the specialized village greater successes.

A Tongcheng householder specializing in pastries, Ge Nenglue [5514 5174 3970] converted altogether 100,000 jin of grain into pastries in the past 2 years. He informed Comrade Hu Yaobang that pastry processing, a traditional skill of his family, had a household history of over 100 years. The snow-dates and crisp aniseed cakes made by his family were well-known and popular in the adjacent Hubei and Jiangxi areas. This cottage industry was closed down after 1956. In 1981, encouraged by the party's policy, he and his brothers and nephews resumed operation and his father, close to 80 years of age, served as the technical adviser. Today, they produce 38 varieties of pastries. After reappearing in the market, their products immediately made a hit with the consumers. Hearing his story, Comrade Hu Yaobang said happily: "It is truly amazing for one household to convert 50,000 jin of grain in 1 year! Obviously, there is a good future for the various kinds of food processing industry." He then turned to Ge Nenglue and suggested: "You can start a technical training class, collect fees from the students and teach them your skills."

On 13 December, in Huangmei county below Dabie Mountain in eastern Hubei, three representatives of specialized households came to the guest house to report their achievements to the general secretary. Comrade Hu Yaobang shook their hands warmly, invited them to sit down and asked about the details of their production. Together with two peasant households in his village, Zhang Lingsong [1728 0109 2646], a 47-year old peasant of Zhangfu village, breeds soft-shelled turtles and finless eels on a large scale. They are well-known combined households in the county. Comrade Hu Yaobang asked:

"How many do you raise? Where do you market them?" Zhang Lingsong replied: The 8,000 jin of soft-shelled turtles and 5,000 jin of finless eels were all artificially bred by us in the ponds dug by ourselves, and mainly sold in Zhejiang's Wenzhou area. Just this year alone, they sold 1,000 jin of soft-shelled turtles. He said that, after 3 years of groping, their technique in artificial propagation had reached a standard. By raising funds and borrowing, the three households bought a Dongfeng truck, a tractor and a tricycle for long- and short-distance hauling. Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Communication here is convenient, and soft-shelled turtles and finless eels are vigorous. You can ship them directly to Shanghai." Praised as a "peasant craftsman," Lu Dengqiao [4151 4098 2890] is skillful in creating wheat stalk pictures. In 1981, he and seven others started an "industrial art plant." Their novel glass screens with exquisitely crafted lifelike figures, sceneries, birds and animals made with cotton, wheat stalk and saw dust are sold in the various areas throughout the country and some Southeast Asian countries and regions. After making his report, he used his own camera to take several pictures of Comrade Hu Yaobang. Yan Junxian [0917 0971 0341], a grain specialist, reported on how his whole family contracted to farm the land reclaimed from the lake and became rich. Comrade Hu Yaobang highly praised their achievements, encouraged them to propel more peasants to work hard and get rich, and took group pictures with them as mementos.

#### The Significance of Developing Small Towns

Beyond Shanggao is Gaoan, on the shore of Jin Jiang. The county's village and town enterprises and diversification are fairly successful. Making a report to the general secretary, the county party committee secretary said that, to expedite circulation, the county set up 37 small fairs, making it possible for the peasants to attend 1 fair every 3 days. The number of people coming to the fairs varied from 3,000 to 20,000. The county party committee thought that it was a good method.

Pondering it over, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "For an area with a circumference of 20 li, and 10 kilometers southeast and northwest, have you ever figured how long it will take on a bicycle?" Some said 30 minutes and others 40. Comrade Hu Yaobang continued: "If after some years of effort, small towns convenient to the masses are built and spread all over the area, what will be the benefit to economic and social developments? I suggest that we explore the matter." Thus was launched an enthusiastic discussion.

County party secretary Zhai Shida [5049 2514 6671] said: With the small towns, products can be marketed and goods needed bought at all times, thereby promoting cultural interchange and spreading technology to the surrounding villages. Nodding his head, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that, regardless of how often the fairs are held, the peasants have to spend a whole day to attend one. The practice is the result of low commodity production and underdeveloped commodity economy. When the small towns are developed, what will be their impact on promoting specialized labor division and cooperation? Small towns will promote technical interchange, popularize technology, enroll the specialized households and expand their combines, and they will also propel the

development of processing and service industries. First provincial party secretary Bai Dongcai supplemented by saying that establishing small towns will promote cultural interchange, such as films and publications. Comrade Hu Yaobang continued: The small towns in many European countries are very developed, and people do not prefer large cities. We must also gradually build small towns equipped with industry, commerce and service industries suitable to local conditions, fairly good educational and cultural facilities, places to enjoy plays, movies, music and food, and facilities for economic, cultural and information interchanges. Wouldn't it be good? We must build the small towns properly, make plans first and undertake them one by one, instead of dismantling them after a couple of years. We must have foresight and plan them in various forms and designs. Each small town must have its individual style and layout, instead of stereotyped. Of course, we must base our endeavors on financial feasibility and guard against the pursuit of speed and number. Some three to five small towns in a county will be enough, to be completed in 3 to 5 years at a reasonable cost. The county party secretary said that more than 100 households have applied for permits to open stores in the small fairs and that the development of village and town enterprises is fast. Comrade Hu Yaobang said that, among the 640,000 population of Gaoan, when the small town population reaches 120,000 or 130,000, it will only constitute 20 percent of the total. We will first aim at 25 percent and progress to the ratio of 30 to 70. He stressed: With the economic development, the building of small towns will serve as a major measure to change the urban-rural relations and the labor and industrial structures.

#### Important Words in the Train

Comrade Hu Yaobang's trip to the Hubei-Jiangxi mountain regions ended on 14 December. The itinerary covered was as follows: Xianning, Tongshan, Chongyang and Tongcheng in southern Hubei, Xiushui, Tonggu, Yifeng, Shanggao, Gaoan, Fengxin, Anyi, Nanchang and Jiujiang in northwest Jiangxi and, across Chang Jiang from Jiujiang, Huangmei, Guangji, Qichun, Xishui and Huangshi in eastern Hubei.

In the evening of 14 December, the general secretary boarded the train at Huangshi to return north. For a whole day on the 15th, he gathered the accompanying comrades in the dining car for a summing-up meeting. At the end, Comrade Hu Yaobang discussed several important points: After the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee, I have traveled over six provinces, namely, Shandong, Jiangsu, Anhui, Henan, Hubei and Jiangxi. My salient impression is that our country has indeed made a fairly great development in the past 2 years. How has it been possible for us to take bigger and bigger strides year after year? I feel that we must keep in mind the following: Year after year, the conditions have become clearer, the policies more perfect, the measures more effective, the planning more thorough, and confidence stronger.

The various branches of the central government have made new improvements in recent years, some major and some minor. There has been quite an improvement after launching party consolidation and clarifying the enterprise

guiding ideology. However, I find that there is still a shortcoming: Our trips to the basic level are not frequent enough, and we do not formulate enough concrete policies aimed at solving specific contradictions and problems in our own branches. We must not feel that it is enough to summon the local comrades to Beijing for meetings. It will not do. We must take frequent trips to the basic level and make actual contacts with the cadres, masses and environments of all sides. Our central comrades on the first line rarely have the time for extended absences, but our principle is to take a trip whenever possible and make more trips and more contacts. Only thus will it be possible for us to intensify our actual impressions and avoid emptiness.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that we must pursue two things inside the country: properly carrying out the economic reform and promoting younger cadres. Today, what is easily overlooked is the issue of promoting younger cadres, and there are still many people who have not recognized its importance.

One major issue in the economic aspect is that we absolutely must not overlook agriculture. If agriculture fails to maintain a sustained growth on a considerable scale, our domestic market will have no reserve, and our economy as a whole will be hindered. For agriculture and the rural areas to improve, we must give close attention to two aspects: Continue to liberalize village and town enterprises and promote their development more bodily; resolutely readjust the agricultural structure and combine planting, raising and breeding, and processing more properly.

Another major issue in the economic aspect is that we must concentrate on electrification. We must have foresight. If it takes 30 years and national electrification is achieved by the year 2010, it will be amazing. The next thing is that we must wait for opportunities to act, take one year at a time, make early-stage preparations, and strive to do a little more every year. In small hydroelectricity, we must firmly follow the principle of "three selves" (operation, management and use by [the people] themselves). There are problems in the irrational charges for linking the small hydroelectric stations with the large power networks and in the operational style of the power departments of the various levels, and we hope for fairly satisfactory solutions in 1985.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZUNYI MEETING OF 1935 REMEMBERED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 11 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Chen Tiejian [7115 6993 0256]: "Review of the Zunyi Meeting--in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Zunyi Meeting"]

[Text] Fifty years ago, when the First Front Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army fought its way to Zunyi County, Guizhou Province, on the Long March, an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee was held here, at which the mistakes of Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunists line in military affairs were criticized and corrected. This was the well-known Zunyi Meeting. Guided by the military principle decided on at the Zunyi Meeting, the Red Army all of a sudden stopped running away passively and being controlled by the enemy and began to move freely back and forth holding the initiative in every move. It was a major turning point in the history of the Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. A review of this part of history today is still of practical significance for us to deeply understand the harmfulness of "leftist" deviation and eliminate the "leftist" tendency still existing in various fields.

Wang Ming's "Leftist" Deviationist Arrogance Boosted, Outstanding Party Leaders Pushed Aside

To explain this great turn, we must begin with Wang Ming's "leftist" adventurism and how the Central Red Army was forced to move from the soviet area to the west.

Wang Ming's "leftist" deviationist clique gained leading position in the Party Central Committee by excluding many outstanding comrades at the leadership level of the party through the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee convened in January 1931 with the support of Communist International representative (Mi-fu). The Fourth Plenary Session in fact approved Wang Ming's booklet entitled "Two Lines" (that is, "Struggle for the Further Bolshevization of the CPC"). If further restored and developed Li Lisan's "leftist" ideas and "leftist" policies, making them even more firmly, "theoretically" and arrogantly "leftist" and more complete in form. Following the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, Xiang Zhongfa

remained titular general secretary of the Central Committee, but real power was in the hands of Wang Ming and company. In June the same year, Xiang Zhongfa was arrested and turned traitor. In September, a provisional Party Central Committee was formed with Bo Gu in overall charge. Wang Ming went to Moscow as CPC representative to the Communist International and worked in the leading organ of the Communist International. He retained his control over the provisional CPC Central Committee and continued to push his "leftist" policies. Ignoring the increasingly acute contradictions between China and Japan and the temporarily easing class contradictions within the country after the September 18th Incident, they wrongly directed the main thrust of revolution against the middle classes, calling for "down with everything." They ignored the relative strength of subjective and objective forces at that time, acted in a rash and adventurist way and accused those who objected to their mistakes as "opportunist." Owing to their "leftist" mistakes, the party lost almost 100 percent of its organizations in the white areas. As a result, the provisional Central Committee was forced to move from Shanghai to the central soviet area in early 1933.

A central delegation dispatched by the provisional CPC Central Committee to the central soviet area began as early as in November 1931 to exclude Mao Zedong's correct leadership in the party and the Red Army in the central soviet area, and at the Ningdu meeting in October 1932, it relieved Mao Zedong of his functions as general political commissar of the Red Army and secretary of the Front Committee, allowing him to work only in the government. Despite this, in March 1933, the Central Red Army, commanded by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, still victoriously crushed the fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign of Chiang Kai-shek's forces against the central soviet area by following Mao Zedong's military principles. The central soviet area was expanded across Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian and Guangdong provinces and linked up with the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi soviet area. The Central Red Army grew to about 100,000 men, and the Red Army in the whole country grew to about 300,000 strong.

In September 1933, Chiang Kai-shek massed a million troops, with half a million directed specifically against the central soviet area, and launched the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign. The enemy built more than 3,000 pillboxes around the soviet area, advanced gradually and consolidated its positions at every step to close in on the soviet area and wear down the Red Army's effective strength. At the same time, politically the enemy adopted policies to clear up rural areas, set up a bao-jia system [an administrative system organized on the basis of households, each jia being made up of 10 households, and each bao of 10 jia], enforce a law under which people were punished for being related to or friendly with a communist, make a show of conciliation and so forth. Economically the enemy imposed a tight blockade. The overall objective was, in Chen Cheng's words, to "catch the fish in the pond by pumping out all the water" to wipe out the Red Army and the soviet area.

Had the Central Red Army followed the correct military principle, it could have smashed the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign. However, Bo Gu, who was in overall charge of the provisional CPC Central Committee, was a

scholar who knew nothing about military affairs, and he turned all military command authorities over to Li-de [phonetic], a military adviser sent by the Communist International. Li-de knew absolutely nothing about conditions in China, nor did he make a serious analysis of the actual war situation. He merely copied the doctrines he had learned in military schools and gave arbitrary and impractical directions. At the beginning of the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign, Li-de and others adopted an adventurist offensive line and ordered the Red Army to carry out so-called "attack on all fronts," attacking the enemy's strong positions and suffering repeated setbacks.

In November, the Fujian incident took place, and leaders in the incident, Cai Tingkai, Jiang Guagnai and others, were willing to cooperate with the Red Army to oppose Chiang Kai-shek. Mao Zedong suggested then that the Red Army's main force should break through the enemy's encirclement and fight its way to the Jiangsu-Zhejiang-Anhui-Jiangxi area with Zhejiang in the center to threaten the enemy's own vital territory and force the enemy to turn back to its rescue, thus crushing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign and helping the Fujian People's Government at the same time. Li-de and others rejected this correct suggestion and went so far as saying that Cai Tingkai and the others were even more dangerous than Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, the "encirclement and suppression" campaign was not crushed, and the Fujian People's Government collapsed.

Peng Dehuai Denounced Li-de, "The Bastard Sold His Father's Farm and Does Not Feel Sorry."

In January 1934, the provisional CPC Central Committee held the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, which developed the "leftist" mistakes to a new high. Militarily it switched again from adventurism to conservatism, set up defenses everywhere and fought defensive actions at every step, landing the Red Army in a totally passive position. In March 1934, the enemy attacked Guangchang, the northern gate of the soviet area, and the Red Army was ordered to fight a positional war and a war of attrition against enemy forces. As a result, the Red Army suffered serious losses, and Guangchang fell. When Peng Dehuai saw Li-de after the military reverses, he told him to his face that he was totally ignorant of the Red Army's operational principles and that he was a subjective, map-exercise strategist. Peng Dehuai said, "But for the Red Army's high degree of awareness, the First and Third Army Groups would have long been forfeited by you!" He denounced Li-de as "the bastard who sold his father's farm and does not feel sorry." (Hunan folk adage criticizing Li-de for causing the unjustified losses to the Red Army and feeling no regret at all.) After the fall of Guangchang, the Red Army was ordered to "divide the forces into six routes," defend all fronts and continue to make the so-called "short swift thrusts," causing even greater losses. At this moment, Mao Zedong suggested that the Red Army's main force should immediately drive into central Hunan to maneuver the enemy to Hunan and annihilate it there. This strategem was again rejected. In October 1934, Xingguo, Ningdu, Shicheng and other places in the central soviet area fell into enemy hands one after another, and all hopes were lost to shatter the enemy's fifth "encirclement

and suppression" campaign. The Central Red Army had no choice but to break out of the encirclement and move elsewhere.

When the Central Red Army began to move, its main force consisted of the First, Third, Fifth, Eighth and Ninth Army Groups plus rear units totalling more than 86,000 men and claiming to be 100,000 strong. The units set out from Changting and Ninghua, Fujian, and Ruijin and Yudu, Jiangxi, and marched toward western Hunan to join forces with the Second and Sixth Army Groups. For a few in the core of leadership at the central level, this was a long-prepared move, but for the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, cadres at various levels and the masses of commanders and fighters, it was a hasty action. Even senior leaders like Xiang Ying and Chen Yi did not know at the time about this major strategic plan. Some senior cadres, disliked by the leaders who committed the "leftist" mistakes and who took this opportunity to get rid of them, were left behind in the soviet area soon to fall into enemy hands. For example, even Qu Qiubai and He Shuheng, who were sick and in poor health and totally unfit for a guerrilla environment, were also left behind and ultimately sacrificed. At first, they even tried not to take Mao Zedong along. Later Mao Zedong was allowed to go with them only because he was chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China, had long been leading the army and enjoyed very high prestige.

After the Long March began, the panic-stricken leaders of the provisional Party Central Committee made the mistake of flightism in directing the war. Li-de and others arbitrarily ordered the units to move in the manner of moving house along a corridor, with the First and Third Army Groups as the left and right vanguards, the Eighth and Ninth Army Groups covering the two flanks, the Fifth Army Group as the rear guard and the headquarters of the Military Commission and the Central Column in the middle. There were also "pots and pans" of all descriptions, and shoulder poles along numbered more than 3,000. The cumbersome burdens slowed down movement. Encircled, pursued, obstructed and intercepted by the enemy along the way, the units passively avoided combat, fighting while fleeing. Between 21 October and 30 November, our units broke through four enemy blockade lines one after another. When they crossed the Xiangjiang, they had lost more than half of their personnel and were reduced to some 30,000 men. By this time, Chiang Kai-shek had ascertained the Red Army's moving direction and massed a strong force five or six times the Red Army's strength on the route. Li-de and others insisted on moving toward the area of the Second and Sixth Army Groups according to the original plan, which meant to get into the bag preset by the enemy. Under the circumstance, Mao Zedong strongly recommended to turn to Guizhou where enemy forces were weak. The recommendation was approved by a majority at a meeting of central responsible persons held in Tongdao County, Hunan, in December 1934, but Li-de and others still disagreed. Although the Red Army's movement began to change direction, from Hunan into Guizhou, Li-de's strategic principle of moving north into western Hunan remained unchanged. On 18 December, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting in Liping, Guizhou, at which Li-de proposed to fight recklessly against the enemy in northeastern Guizhou, but Mao Zedong called for moving to northern Guizhou. Zhou Enlai, who presided over the meeting, adopted Mao Zedong's recommendation, and the meeting made a

"resolution of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on establishing a new base area on the Sichuan-Guizhou border," giving up the original plan to join forces with the Second and Sixth Army Groups in favor of marching into Guizhou where enemy forces were weak. On 1 January 1935, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting at Houchang (caoping), Wengan County, Guizhou, which adopted a "resolution of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on new principles for action after crossing the river." On the way from Liping toward the northwest across the Wujiang before arriving in Zunyi, Mao Zedong convinced Zhang Wentian (Luo Fu), Wang Jiaxiang and other leaders in the Party Central Committee. His correct opinions won more comrades' support and in effect removed Li-de's command. This paved the way for convening the Zunyi meeting.

#### Practice in Struggle Distinguished Right From Wrong, Zunyi Meeting Reversed the Course of Events

On the early morning of 7 January 1935, the Red Army took Zunyi. The general headquarters and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee arrived in Zunyi on 8 and 9 January respectively. The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee was held in Zunyi on 15-17 January. The meeting made concentrated efforts to correct the military mistakes which were of decisive importance at the time and also made some organizational readjustments. Bo Gu made a summing-up report on the counter campaign against the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign at the beginning of the meeting, and Zhou Enlai made a supplemental report. In his report, Bo Gu defended his erroneous leadership, stressing the objective difficulties and putting the blame for the failure to shatter the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign in the central soviet area on the great strength of the enemy. Mao Zedong made a long speech in which he emphatically analyzed and criticized the series of basic mistakes in military affairs committed by leaders who also made other "leftist" mistakes. Zhou Enlai firmly supported Mao Zedong's views. He criticized the serious harm caused by "leftist" adventurism and expressed in clear-cut terms his support for Mao Zedong's correct leadership. He pointed out that if Mao Zedong's opinions were adopted, the fifth counter campaign against "encirclement and suppression" could have been won, and the central Soviet area would not have been lost. Zhu De criticized the "leftist" adventurist mistakes in military leadership and expressed wholehearted support for Mao Zedong's correct leadership. Liu Shaoqu too clearly expresses support for Mao Zedong's correct views. Wang Jiaxiang, who became aware of the "leftist" adventurist mistakes in military affairs rather early, gave firm support to Mao Zedong's correct principles. Zhang Wentian cast aside "leftist" adventurism, supported Mao Zedong's correct leadership and made a report at the meeting to criticize "leftist" military ideas. By comparing success and failure, many other comrades came to see the mistakes of Wang Ming and others and the correctness of Mao Zedong and, therefore, all criticized the "leftist" mistakes in military affairs and supported the correct line. Bo Gu failed to completely and thoroughly admit his own mistakes. Kai Feng disagreed with the correct views of Mao Zedong, Wang Jiaxiang and Zhang Wentian; and Li-de refused to accept any of the criticisms, showing a very bad attitude. Following discussion, the meeting entrusted Zhang

Wentian to draft a "resolution of the CPC Central Committee summing up the counter campaign against the enemy's fifth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign," which was reviewed and approved by the Political Bureau.

The resolution pointed out that the leaders who made "leftist" mistakes committed the following basic strategic and tactical errors in the fifth counter campaign against "encirclement and suppression": 1. They adopted a purely defensive line which was the major cause of defeat. 2. They violated the basic principle of China's revolutionary war that it is strategically a protracted war but tactically battles of quick decision, suggested "not to give up an inch of territory of the Soviet area" and wanted the Red Army to fight with desperate recklessness, resulting in serious losses to the Red Army. 3. On the question of taking advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions, they missed the opportunity to take advantage of the Fujian incident. 4. On the question of strategic shifting from one place to another and breaking through enemy encirclement, they kept engaging the enemy in a contest of attrition, ignored preserving our effective strength and missed the favorable opportunity to make the shift; during the shift, they made flightist moves in breaking through enemy encirclement, causing further losses to the Red Army. On the basis of the situation at that time, the resolution pointed out that the party's task is to establish and strengthen party work in white areas, launch widespread guerrilla warfare in the central, Hunan-Jiangxi, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi and other soviet areas and establish closer contacts with and strengthen leadership over the Second and Sixth Army Groups and the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, and that the Central Red Army's central task is to give play to the Red Army's special skill in mobile warfare, defeat the enemy Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Chiang forces and create new revolutionary base areas in the vast area of Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan provinces. On the most critical military issues at that time, the Zunyi meeting negated "leftist" adventurism and affirmed the basic principles for Red Army operations advanced by Mao Zedong and others. This was a major victory of the correct line against "leftist" adventurism in the party.

#### End of "Leftist" Adventurism, Establishment of Correct Leadership in the Party Central Committee

The resolution of the Zunyi meeting pointed out: In view of the fact that in the past "all the work of the Military Commission was monopolized by Comrade Hua Fu (Li-de) to the complete exclusion of the Military Commission's collective leadership," it is decided that "the Military Commission's leadership must be improved." The meeting elected Mao Zedong as an additional member of the standing committee of the Political Bureau, abolished the "three-man group" which was then the real core of leadership and the organ of supreme power of party, government and army and decided that military affairs should continue to be directed by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De who were leading members of the Military Commission. Thus Bo Gu and Li-de were deprived of their supreme military command power. After the meeting, a division of labor was effected by the Political Bureau standing committee in accordance with the guidelines laid down by the meeting, and Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were put in charge of

military work. Later on, during the march, the Party Central Committee successively decided to have Zhang Wentian replace Bo Gu as the person in overall charge and Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang form a three-man military command group. This ended the domination of Wang Ming's "leftist" adventurism in the CPC Central Committee and established the correct leadership of the new Party Central Committee represented by Mao Zedong. The meeting saved the party and the Red Army at a most critical juncture. It was a vitally important turning point in the history of the CPC, and it opened the way for the Chinese revolution to march toward victory. It should also be pointed out that because at that time the great majority of the comrades had not yet recognized the political mistakes of the provisional Party Central Committee, so the meeting held that the party's political line at that time was correct and that the military mistakes were "only partial mistakes when the party's line was considered as a whole". Under the historical conditions of the time, it was absolutely necessary to do so in order to solve the urgent problem of military line and mobilize the whole party to unite as one to overcome difficulties on the Long March.

After the Zunyi meeting, the Central Red Army was reorganized and marched with light packs. It adopted flexible strategy and tactics, cleverly maneuvered the enemy, seized the initiative in the war and carried out large-scale mobile warfare in Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan. These were the famous campaigns of crossing the Chishui four times and the ingenious crossing of the Jinshajiang. The Red Army's highly mobile operations were described by the Sichuan forces as a "tai-ji diagram," by the Guizhou forces as "millstone tactics" and by the Yunnan forces as "curve movements." Even the Kuomintang's highest military authorities had no way to determine the Red Army's whereabouts. They could not help admitting: On the relative situation between the two sides, one side on the offensive and the other on the defensive, the Red Army "is now on the offensive like the noisy guest who has stolen the show from the host."

From then on, The Red Army broke away from the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops, shattered Chiang Kai-shek's strategic attempt to encircle and annihilate the Red Army in Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou, seized the initiative in the war, realized the strategic intent of crossing the river and heading north and laid the foundation for the victory of the Long March.

During the period when the CPC was leading China's democratic revolution, two historical changes took place. One occurred from the time of the defeat of the Northern Expedition to the beginning of the Agrarian Revolutionary War and was marked by the Nanchang uprising, the August 7th Meeting, the autumn harvest uprising, the Guangzhou uprising and the establishment of Jinggangshan and other revolutionary base areas. The other occurred from the time of the defeat of the fifth counter campaign against "encirclement and suppression" to the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan and was marked by the Zunyi meeting, the August 1st Declaration, the peaceful solution of the Xian incident and the formation of the national anti-Japanese united front with the second Kuomintang-CPC cooperation as its core. In the second change, the Zunyi meeting was of decisive significance. Because without the Zunyi meeting to put an end

to the "leftist" adventurist military leadership and save the Red Army from a hopeless situation, the August 1st Declaration could not have been put into effect, we could not have the power to help bring about the peaceful solution of the Xiang incident, and there would have been no ending of the civil war and no formation of the anti-Japanese united front. In that case, the victory of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed for years, and China's future would be too dreadful to contemplate. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of a large number of outstanding people represented by Mao Zedong, the whole party with extraordinary revolutionary courage, resourcefulness and willpower carried on a tenacious struggle, creatively explored a revolutionary road suited to China's characteristics, ultimately reversed the dangerous situation, gave the revolutionary cause a new life and opened up a victoriously developing new situation. The Zunyi meeting rescued the Chinese party, the Red Army and the Chinese revolution from a desperate situation and made possible their development from weak to strong. Its great historical role and significance should be highly appraised.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEADERSHIP ATTENDS CLOSING OF CPPCC SESSION

0W091310 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1341 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 8 Apr (XINHUA)--The Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee completed all the agenda items and closed at the Great Hall of the People this afternoon.

Deng Yingchao, chairwoman of the CPPCC National Committee, attended and addressed the conference. She expressed the hope that all CPPCC members, after returning to their respective posts, will work hard, be inspired with enthusiasm, seek unity of CPPCC members at various levels and people of all quarters, actively implement the guidelines of the session, and make fresh and greater contributions to economic prosperity and reform of the economic structure.

Today's conference was jointly presided over by Chairwoman Deng Yingchao and Vice Chairmen Yang Jingren, Cheng Zihua, Hu Ziang, and Ba Jin. Vice Chairpersons Liu Lantao, Lu Dingyi, Kang Keqing, Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, Wang Kunlun, Qian Changzhao, Dong Qiwu, Tao Shiyue, Yang Chengwu, Xiao Hua, Chen Zaidao, Lu Zhengcao, Burhan, Miao Yuntai, Wang Guangying, Deng Zhaoxiang, Fei Xiaotong, Qu Wu, Ma Wenrui, Mao Yisheng, and Liu Jingji were seated at the rostrum.

Li Xiannian, Ulanhu, Xi Zhongxun, Yang Shangkun, Yang Dezhi, Yu Qiuli, Song Renqiong, Nk Zhifu, Yao Yilin, Chen Muhua, Deng Liqun, Chen Pixian, Hu Qili, Qiao Shi, and Hao Jianxiu attended the conference and extended warmest congratulations to the closing of the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee.

At the opening of the session at 1500, 1,505 members were present. Members Fei Xiaotong, Luo Peiyuan, Shen Qizhen, Fang Jufen, and Ma Yongjiang successively spoke at the conference. They expressed their views on reform of the educational system, assistance to reform the economic structure, support to the policy of opening to the outside world, work toward prevention and eradication of infectious diseases, provision of rich spiritual food for teenagers and children, and on further carrying out the work of implementing the CPPCC policies.

By show of hand, the session additionally elected Hua Luogeng as vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, and Hao Yichun, Li Jiansheng, Wang Feng, and Guo Xiuyi as Standing Committee members. After conclusion of the elections, the newly elected vice chairman and Standing Committee members proceeded to sit on the rostrum amid warm applause.

The session adopted a political resolution of the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, a resolution on the Standing Committee's work report, a resolution on the work report on implementation of policies, and a report on the examination of motions of the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee.

After completion of all items on the agenda, Chairwoman Deng Yingchao delivered a speech. She held that the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee was very successful. In her speech she expressed opinions on rectifying the unhealthy tendencies, improving propaganda work, and educational reform. She maintained that the conference was one of promoting unity, carrying forward democracy, and proceeding toward fresh success.

Also attending the conference were Wang Ping, Wang Shoudao, Chen Xilian, Huang Huoqing, Wang Heshou, Xu Deheng, Peng Chong, Wang Renzhong, Zhu Xuefan, Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, Seypidin Aizezi, Zhou Gucheng, Yan Jici, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Li Peng, Tian Jiyun, Zhang Jingfu, Hong Xuezhi, Zheng Tianxiang, and Yang Yichen.

Peng Youjin, secretary general of the CPPCC National Committee, and all Standing Committee members were seated on the rostrum.

At 4:50 in the afternoon, the conference closed with the majestic music of the National Anthem.

After conclusion of the session, Chairwoman Deng Yingchao met with Standing Committee members newly elected at the current conference and with members additionally elected at the Eighth Standing Committee meeting at the Hunan Hall of the Great Hall of the People.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XINHUA SIDELIGHT REPORT ON NPC SESSION

OW101042 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0155 GMT 9 Apr 85

[Article by XINHUA reporter Guo Lingchun: "Listen to Substantive Voice and Do Concrete Work--A Note on the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress"--XINHUA headline]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Apr (XINHUA)--Everybody hates to see the "stereotyped writing," but if you reflect carefully, you will see that more often than not people are "stereotyped" whether in conducting meetings, making remarks, drawing up plans, or handling issues. According to this reporter's observation, this practice, which has not yet vanished at the present time, was nonetheless "wiped out" at the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress.

The government work report, characterized by its substantive contents, won appreciation from participants in the session. This marked a good start! The deputies commented that this report, though it did not cover every aspect of the work, contained neither stereotyped expressions nor empty words. The reports delivered later by Song Ping and Wang Bingqian dealt with both sides of the issues in that they gave not only the happy news but also the unpleasant information. Although these reports revealed the difficulties, the deputies felt "assured in their hearts" because the reports did speak out the facts.

Putting stress on action is a way to wipe out "stereotype." Besides making 128 motions and over 1,000 criticism and suggestions, the deputies took the current fine opportunity to do what they thought would yield quick results. One day when the meeting recessed, Anhui delegation leader Huang Huang together with a dozen prefectural and city party committee secretaries in the Anhui [delegation] went to Tongxian County to learn advanced experience. They learned how to develop fodder and animal husbandry machinery industries after grain production has attained a high level.

The poor quality of the Wanbao-brand refrigerator was an issue drawing public attention at the time of the session. Xu Shijie, Guangdong deputy and secretary of the Guangzhou City Party Committee, passed this news to Guangzhou City on the very night of that day when he learned this. The

reply he received was that all personnel of the factory had been mobilized to solve the problem, a strict responsibility system had been put into effect, and 1,000 new refrigerators would be sent to Beijing in the near future as replacement of those already sold to customers. The issue of moving five electronics plants from southeastern Shanxi to Taiyuan City had not been taken up by the authorities concerned for several months. Wang Maolin, Shanxi deputy and Taiyuan mayor, appealed to the Ministry of Electronics Industry. Three days later, Zhang Ting, adviser to the ministry, personally approached him with regard to this issue. After another 3 days, Zhang Ting led an inspection group to set out for the province at the foot of the Taihang Shan to deal with the issue.

As a leading comrade at the central level once said, without discarding the stereotype, how can we proceed with our program of the four modernizations? At the current session, it is not difficult to see that people are tired of empty words and exaggerations; they like to listen to substantive voice and do concrete work.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPPCC MEMBER REVEALS UNREASONABLE BURDENS

OW101116 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0851 GMT 9 Apr 85

[Article by reporter Zou Aiguo]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Apr (XINHUA)--"The time was less than 1 year, but there were nine apportioned expenses, totaling some 216,700 yuan." So saying, a member attending the Third Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee cited the example of Xian Instruments and Meters Plant as a convincing fact to tell people that various social burdens and apportioned expenses put an immense pressure on enterprises with an adverse effect on development of production and improvement of the welfare of staff members and workers.

In a written statement submitted to the session, Sun Zuobin, member of the CPPCC National Committee from the ancient city Xian, revealed the nine apportioned expenses paid by the Xian Instruments and Meters Plant between 9 April 1984 and the end of February 1985:

On 9 April 1984, 576 yuan were paid for painting the wall in an area outside the plant;

On 21 May 1984, 1,625 yuan were paid for painting the wall along a sidewalk;

On 24 July 1984, 3,000 yuan were paid in support of afforestation;

On 14 August 1984, 800 yuan were paid in support of a basketball tournament;

In October 1984, 31,617 were paid for the first-stage Xian city moat project;

On 14 October 1984, 8,000 yuan were paid to the TV station as support for broadcasting the serial drama: "Chen Zhen";

On 25 November 1984, 1,000 yuan were paid to the Huan Cheng Xi Lu Street Office in Xian as compensation for damage of road;

On 23 December 1984, 4,000 yuan were paid to the Huan Cheng Xi Lu Street Office in Xian as greening fee; and

In early 1985, 166,088 yuan were paid for the second-stage Xian city moat project.

The above totaled more than 216,700 yuan.

He said: Of course, public support is required for social projects that improve public welfare. However, most of these nine expenses were unreasonable. He called on the departments concerned to take steps to eliminate various unreasonable apportioned expenses so as to lighten the burdens on enterprises.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPPCC VICE-CHAIRMAN DESCRIBES 'UNIQUE CHINESE CHARACTER' OF CPPCC

HK100411 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 10 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Fei Xiaotong, "Sociologist and Vice-Chairman of the CPPCC"]

[Text] Foreigners often compare the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) to the United States' Senate or the British House of Lords, but these comparisons are misleading.

Although it has some similarities to those two legislative bodies, the CPPCC is essentially different from them. It is a socialist political organization with a distinctive Chinese character.

The CPPCC is a united front organization composed of members of various democratic parties, people's organizations, public figures without party affiliation, and compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. Members of the CPPCC--including those in provincial, municipal and county CPPCC--total more than 300,000. And until 1954 when the National People's Congress was set up, the CPPCC had functioned in an acting capacity as the highest organ of state power.

The united front is composed of people who unite in the pursuit of a common goal. During the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945), different political parties and organizations joined together to resist the Japanese invasion, forming what was called Anti-Japanese United Front. Today, the Patriotic United Front joins together patriots committed to the reunification of China.

Since the united front includes people from all walks of life, consultation is necessary before agreement can be reached on political subjects. Some of their conclusions will be discussed and made into law by the legislative bodies and put into practice by executive bodies.

In many western countries, different political parties have different viewpoints. They debate at legislative assemblies and vote to decide on a course of action.

In China, different viewpoints and opinions are discussed--consulted--in the National People's Congress and the CPPCC. Delegates work together to reach agreement. Some people do not see the process of discussion, so they find it strange that proposals are often passed unanimously at the NPC and CPPCC.

What makes the political consultation possible is that all parties and groups in China share common goals. The dominant party--the Communist Party of China--has the sole purpose of serving the people, and its decisions and politices reflect the wishes of the masses. This is what is called "following the mass line."

China no longer has different classes with opposing interests. Consultation can bring together a variety of opinions and suggestions and result in consensus. The CPPCC's work is carried out in a form more similar to academic discussion than debates of Western assemblies.

In the past CPPCC members could only raise proposals at conference sessions. Now they can make suggestions at any time, and a new committee has been formed to handle this work.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO HAILS NPC, CPPCC SESSIONS

OW110344 Beijing XINHUA in English 0327 GMT 11 Apr 85

[**"NPC and CPPCC Sessions--'Program for Reform Victory'"--XINHUA headline]**

[Text] Beijing, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--Today's PEOPLE'S DAILY says that the recently-ended sessions of China's highest state power and consultative body proceeded in a spirit of democracy, seeking truth from facts, reform and boldness. This is stated in an editorial greeting the successful conclusion of the respective sessions of the National People's Congress yesterday and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 8 April.

The editorial says that the resolutions adopted at these meetings will have a great impact on further strengthening the country's unity and stability, and promoting reform, socialist modernization and the reunification of the motherland.

It says that Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on government work was warmly received by the NPC deputies and CPPCC members attending these two sessions. They hailed Premier Zhao's report for breaking with the old stereotype and focusing on questions of primary concern to the whole nation, the editorial says.

They pointed out that the premier had given a clear and all-round analysis of the national situation, neither exaggerating the achievements nor glossing over the difficulties and shortcomings.

The paper says that the premier's report will help people all over the country acquire a clear understanding of the national situation and enhance their morale and confidence. The editorial stresses that only in this way can correct policies be worked out and implemented effectively.

It says that during these days of great social transformation, when things are very complicated and undergoing rapid changes, people must keep clear heads and stick to the correct path of construction so as to avoid aberrations.

It also reviews China's excellent political and economic situation since the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in December 1978.

The editorial attributes the increasingly favorable situation to the current policies of carrying out reforms, invigorating the domestic economy and opening to the outside world.

Referring to problems in China's economic life, it says that they were due to lack of experience in urban economic reform, mistakes in practical work and the influence of unhealthy practices.

It calls on the people to be sober-minded, both while the situation is excellent and when problems crop up.

During a period of rapid advance it is not unusual for difficulties to arise, it says, adding that "revolutionaries must have boldness and vision to reach their goals."

It also calls on the people to foster the lofty ideals of communism and strengthen their sense of discipline.

The editorial describes 1985 as a crucial year during which China has great tasks to accomplish. The country will carry out reforms in many fields this year, among which will be the reform of the wage and pricing systems, it says.

Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of the government has put forward concrete programs for the Chinese people to follow and given them confidence in certain victory in the ongoing reforms, it says.

It calls on the people to unite and work with one heart and one mind in carrying out the reforms.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER ECONOMIC REFORM EXPLAINED

Beijing SIXIANG ZHENGZHI GONGZUO YANJIU [IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK RESEARCH]  
in Chinese No 6, 8 Dec 84 pp 7-8

[Article by Gu Ming [7357 2494]: "Economic Reform and Party Leadership"]

[Text] Integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete reality of China's socialist modernization program and incisively expounding the orientation, tasks, principles, policies and steps of the overall economic reform focusing on the cities, the great historical "Resolution on the Reform of the Economic System" formed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee is a programmatic document. Launching ideological-political work around it is our major task in the future.

As with all our endeavors, the CPC is naturally the leadership core of our economic reform currently underway. Only the CPC possesses such an indomitable spirit, courageously promoting the beneficial and casting off the harmful, abolishing the old and creating the new for the prosperity of the state and the happiness of the people; only the CPC can guarantee the socialist orientation of the reform and keep it on the correct path; and only the CPC can integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's concrete reality and successfully achieve the reform. Without a party proficient in Marxism, without a party which profoundly understands the national conditions and maintains a close tie with the masses, it will be impossible for the reform to succeed. The tremendous success of China's rural economic reform has proved this point, and the practice of the urban reform will further confirm it.

In this reform, an important part is the division between party work and administration and the introduction of the plant director (manager) responsibility system in the enterprises. The feeling that it may weaken the party's leadership is obviously a misunderstanding.

In his speech at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang declared that the party is not a power organization issuing orders to the people, nor an administrative or productive organ. Its leadership mainly rests in ideology and politics, in principles and policies, and in the selection, assignment, evaluation and supervision of cadres. Party leadership should not be equated with the administrative work and production command of the government and enterprises, nor should the party monopolize the work and replace them. Only thus will it

ensure the independence and efficiency of the government and the enterprises and concentrate on studying and formulating important policies, inspecting their implementation and strengthening ideological-political work. Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly explained that dividing the labor between the party and the administration is to free the party from administrative and productive affairs and, instead of weakening the party's leadership, conduces to the realization and strengthening of its leadership in politics, ideology and organization.

Since the second session of the Sixth NPC decided to gradually introduce the plant director (manager) responsibility system, the experiences of the experimental units in the various areas have also proved that labor division between the party and the administration has indeed both raised the efficiency of production command and strengthened the party's ideological-political work. The idea of some party workers that they would have nothing to do and the concern of some plant directors and managers that they would be accused of deviating from the party's leadership have completely vanished in face of facts.

The "Resolution on the Reform of the Economic System" explicitly stipulates that "the party organization in enterprises must actively support the plant director in exercising his unified command of productive and operational activities, guarantee and supervise the implementation of the party's and state's various principles and policies, strengthen its ideological and organizational constructions, reinforce its leadership of the enterprise labor union and CYL, and properly perform the ideological-political work of the workers," thereby delineating a clear sphere for the activities of the enterprise party organization.

Reform requires exploration, innovation and pioneering. Some comrades keen on reform and innovation encountered suppression and attack, and other underwent extremely tortuous paths before gaining recognition of their achievements in reform. Therefore, some comrades feel that upholding the party's leadership conflicts with developing the creative spirit. Some of them have even categorically asserted that promoting reform will come to no good end. Taking certain temporary surface phenomena as the essence, these comrades naturally arrive at an incorrect conclusion.

In essence, upholding the party's leadership not only does not conflict with developing the creative spirit, but constitutes an important condition for it. Ours is a revolutionary party, and its historical mission is to transform the economic base and the superstructure which are incompatible with the people's interest and the improvement of the productive force, and promote the development and progress of society. Therefore, breaking down the old and creating the new is the demand of its nature, while following the beaten path is incompatible with it. In the reform of the economic system, the party regards with the same attitude the valuable spirit of exploration, innovation and pioneering.

However, actual conditions are always extremely complex, and people's cognitive levels are uneven. Those who are the first to discover problems, express innovative opinions, experiment in reform and grope for the path of progress are

always a small number of advanced elements. Before people's understanding catches up, it is often that their pioneering endeavors fail to gain support for a time. At times, they may even be regarded as "abnormal," "transgressive" or "heretic," thereby encountering incorrect treatment and handling. The occurrence of such conditions naturally should be avoided as much as possible, and immediately corrected once they have occurred. Thus, the party leaders of the various levels must cautiously regard all attempts at reform. Lenin declared: "We should meticulously study the new young shoots, treat them attentively, do our best to help them mature and 'look after' them." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4 p 15). We should always remember these words.

In that case, does it mean that the party should support all "innovations" and "reforms" no matter what? No. Because our reform must benefit the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the prosperity and development of the state and the wealth and happiness of the people, we naturally do not endorse "innovations" and "reforms" incompatible with these goals.

Generally speaking, the party organizations of the various levels must primarily treat and support reforms with enthusiasm and cherish like their own children the creative spirit of the people and the young shoots of new things. We must also maintain a sober mind, seek truth from facts, support the yet imperfect innovations and reforms which are compatible with the socialist orientation and conducive to the socialist construction, and help them attain perfection. In regard to "innovations" and "reforms" which are incompatible with the socialist orientation and unfavorable to the socialist construction, we must not only withhold support, but also firmly correct them and prevent them from continuing. Naturally, in regard to deviations and mistakes occurring in the reform, besides serious violations of law and discipline which must be handled according to law, we must follow the principle of persuasion and critical education and refrain from political labeling.

The reform will smash the rigid molds in the economic system and bring vitality to our economy. Meanwhile, we must soberly realize that, in the course of enlivening the economy and opening to the outside, some negative phenomena are bound to emerge. We must oppose and resist the influence and corrosion of the capitalist ideology and such corrupt practices as using power for private gain. The party organization should vigorously strengthen the communist ideological education of the broad worker masses.

As the proverb says, if one wants to work with iron, one must be tough oneself. To educate the masses, the party itself must be up to the mark. If its style is unhealthy and its discipline lax, it will not gain the people's trust or lead them to expose and resist the influence and corrosion of the capitalist ideology. Therefore, strengthening party building, rectifying its style and tightening its discipline are the prerequisites to its leadership in the reform.

The ongoing overall party consolidation has produced obvious results. With its deployment in a wider range, the party style will improve more and more. This is certain and doubtless. However, we must exert a tremendous effort to achieve

its basic improvement. It is precisely what the broad masses are hoping for. We must make sure that party consolidation is not a mere formality, and we must give a brand-new look to the party through consolidation, in order to lead more effectively the socialist construction and economic reform.

Linking reform with party consolidation, the "Resolution" points out: "The more the economy and the enterprises are enlivened, the greater must be our attention on resisting the corrosion of the capitalist ideology, overcoming the corrupt practice of utilizing power for private gain, cracking down on acts seriously detrimental to the interests of the state and the consumers, strengthening the improvement of party style and party discipline, and preserving and reinforcing a sound and correct inner-party political life." The building of the party itself has an important direct link with the success or failure of the economic reform.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ADAPTING PARTY BUILDING TO NEEDS OF REFORM URGED

Beijing ZHIBU SHENGHUO [PARTY BRANCH LIFE] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 9-13

[Excerpts of speech by Jin Jiang [6855 7003], deputy secretary of Beijing Municipal Party Committee, on 14 Nov 84 at the inaugural meeting of the Beijing Party Building Research Association]

[Text] The flourishing situation of reform poses new tasks and higher demands on party building. How to correctly interpret the new conditions emerging in the reform, keep pace with and adapt to the new situation and guarantee its smooth implementation constitute a major issue confronting party building. On the basis of the experiential lessons of the party's work in recent years, I wish to discuss the issue in eight aspects.

1. We must earnestly shift party building to the track of focusing on the four modernizations program and rectify the guiding ideology.

In order to deploy party building around the four modernizations program, we must not only clarify the ideology, but, more importantly, embody it in practical work. The party Central Committee's recent repeated emphases on rectifying the guiding ideology in affair handling as the first step in party consolidation mean that we must focus our work on the party's general task and general goal. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: In all our tasks, the party, government, army and people must wholeheartedly serve the overall situation of national construction. Thus, party building must also closely center on the general goal of the socialist modernization program and vigorously promote and ensure the achievement of the four modernizations, for otherwise it will have no backbone and go astray. To determine whether the guiding ideology is correct, we must mainly ascertain whether our ideology, work, style and systems are compatible with the demands of the party's general task, the reform of the economic systems and the development of the national economy. There are still today many incompatibilities, and certain "Leftist" ideas are still blocking the initiation of a new phase in party building, e.g., the influence of the "two whatevers;" the concept of seniority; in assessing cadres and employing personnel, the practice of starting from the need of political movements, instead of the need of the four modernizations program; in evaluating a cadre, the stress on "level," family background, class status, docility and reliability, instead of his practical ability and educational and professional levels; in appraising exemplary party members, the great attention on the

assiduous and willing "plow-ox model" and the little interest in the "intelligence model" which creates value and makes contributions by mental labor; the prejudice against intellectuals in party membership and the refusal to regard them as a part of the worker class; and so on. Therefore, our primary task today is to emancipate ideology, overcome the old ideas, dismantle the old conventions and establish new concepts. It is a momentous issue linked with the question of whether party building can be successfully shifted to the track of the four modernizations program.

2. We must master the way to choose personnel in the new period and properly exploit talents.

What is the decisive issue in the four modernizations program? It is the personnel issue, cadre issue. Therefore, talent exploitation is a central issue in party building. Comrade Hu Yaobang declared recently: Our takeoff of the nineties must depend on the third echelon, and that of the next century on a new third echelon. Therefore, we must cherish the next generation and foster the promising young people. We must start with the kindergarten and form a talent assembly line. It is a system engineering project and a major part of the party committee's work.

To properly perform the work of choosing personnel, I feel that several urgent cognitive issues should be given attention: (1) comprehensive and correct evaluation of creative cadres; (2) comprehensive and developmental view of young cadres in their thirties; (3) proper handling of the composition of the leading groups; (4) proper reform of the channels of personnel selection; (5) proper training of cadres.

3. We must synchronize the reform of the personnel system with that of the economic systems, or even place it ahead of economic reform.

The reform of economic systems cannot be implemented apart from talents and personnel. In our organizational work, we must select, promote and train personnel and serve as promoters of reform. If the economic reform is launched while the personnel system remains unchanged, the economic reform will certainly not succeed. Therefore, the reform of the personnel system must be synchronized with the economic reform.

Today, the main flaws in our personnel system are the rigid and excessive control and the large-pot rice and iron armchair practices in cadre management. They are the main obstacles to vitalizing the enterprises. The reform of Beijing's personnel and cadre system which has just started mainly focus on the delegation of cadre management power to the lower level, cadre selection and appointment, flow of talents, readjustment of the leading groups of key enterprises and introduction of the post responsibility system in organs. The introduction of the term system for cadres is underway in experimental units. In the future, the reform of the economic systems will bring more new problems to the reform of the personnel and cadre system for our solution.

4. We must, in line with the demands of the four modernizations program, seize the key points and improve the structure of the party membership.

The conditions in Beijing indicate that the situation of the party membership contingent as a whole is good. However, due to historical reasons, the problems of low educational level and aging are serious. At the end of 1983, only 9.9 percent of the city's party members were of college level, while 74.6 percent were of junior middle school level or below; 2.4 percent were under age 25, or 1.1 percent lower than the national level, while 45.6 percent were age 46 or over, including 7.2 percent over age 61. As they grow older, the aging tendency will develop. The distribution of party members is also irrational: The number of party members in the basic level and enterprise front line is pitifully small. There is no party member, for instance, in 41.7 percent of the teams and groups in popular ownership industries and 50 percent of the finance and trade retail departments, and none or only one or two in 94 percent of middle school teaching and research groups and 96 percent of elementary school grade groups. Only 1.5 percent of college undergraduates are party members, far below the proportion of underground members before liberation. The situation affects to a certain extent the party's flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and weakens its influence. If it is not promptly improved, it will be difficult to adapt to the new situation of reform. In recruiting members, we must stress two key points: solving the difficulties encountered by superior intellectuals in joining the party, and recruiting fine young people on the front line of industry, agriculture, and finance and trade. To handle properly the two key points, we must primarily recognize, in our guiding ideology, the need of the four modernizations. To lead the four modernizations program, our party must vigorously solve the problems of its members' educational composition and the incompatibility between building an advanced material civilization and building an advanced spiritual civilization. Next, we must dismantle the obsolete concepts, rectify the "Leftist" viewpoints and muddled understandings of all kinds, and correctly master the membership requirements.

5. In conjunction with party consolidation, we must perfect the party's organizational system and make the inner-party political life normal, democratic and scientific.

The reform of the economic systems is bound to pose new demands on the reform of the party's organizational system and form. The rural economic reform has produced a tremendous transformation in the form of rural productive organization. In urban areas, the contract teams formed by the building trade, the transformation of commercial retail departments into independent accounting units, the rapid growth of education run by the people (Beijing now has over 120 schools run by the people, with a total enrollment of over 100,000), and the emergence of individual entrepreneurs in large numbers, joint ventures and wholly-owned enterprises (including foreign trade) have all brought new demands on adapting the party's organizational form to the changes for us to study and fulfill.

We must also study anew the party members' educational and study systems and substances. Besides studying political theories, party members must learn other things, e.g., knowledge in economic management. In addition to their political quality, they must also improve their professional and management levels.

Strengthening the system of the party committee is very important today. Long pursuing technical work, some cadres are ignorant of the democratic centralist system, while many issues in our party must be solved by this means. The problem is not just an educational issue, but requires a set of methodology.

We must also break down the old conventions in order to improve the quality of organizational life. The form of the party members' regular education is organizational life, which is a school, a regular party school. Animating organizational life will both educate the comrades and solve the problems.

Another issue is party style. How do we eliminate the unhealthy trend of using power for private gain? We must depend on system and law. If the management and education of party members are not democratic, systematic and scientific, it will be difficult to solve the new problems emerging in the ruling party.

#### 6. The party's work cadres must resolutely study economics and become familiar with it.

In terms of the intellectual composition of our party's work cadres, there are several imbalances: more experience in movements, but less in the new sciences and technologies and modern management; more experience in agricultural production, but less in industrial-agricultural combines and large-scale commodity production; in agriculture, more experience in traditional production, but less in modern agriculture; more understanding of party and government, but less of the "variety" cadres (industry, agriculture, finance, trade, physics, science, literature and education); more time spent on routine affairs and acting according to the rules, but less on learning, studying problems, and innovation and pioneering. In short, they do not have an adequate understanding of economics. It is the greatest difficulty in our economic reform. How do we solve this problem? We must study resolutely and learn Marxist economic theories, modern science and technology, and economic management. We must learn from books, from practice and from advanced experiences inside and outside the country and read extensively. We must also establish contact with the economic branch and invite them to come and teach us. We must also step out of the door to take a look and learn from units which are relatively advanced in reform. The party's work branch must recruit cadres conversant in economics and equipped with professional knowledge of all kinds, in order to transform the intellectual composition.

In addition, the party's cadres must establish some new viewpoints, such as, strategy, information, intellectual exploitation, innovation and the priority of efficiency and results, in order to adapt to the new situation of reform.

#### 7. We must improve the work style, enhance efficiency and grope for a set of work patterns and methods geared to the new situation.

To reform, we must cast off the old and attempt the new, promote the advantageous and eliminate the disadvantageous. The backward work patterns and methods found in the party's work must be changed. First of all, we must change the work style. Today, new things are emerging on the front line in large numbers. The party's work cadres must go down to the front line to clarify the

new conditions, study the new problems, search for new patterns and summarize the new experiences. We must constantly listen to the opinions of party members and cadres, and hold direct conversations with the prospects when selecting personnel. Only thus will we understand them, discover talents and help them mature rapidly.

Next, we must raise our efficiency. Establishing an earnest responsible attitude and a high-efficiency work style is extremely important. The leisurely pace is a characteristic of the small producer, but modern mass production requires a fast rhythm and high efficiency. In foreign countries today, a day's work is computed in hours, and several tasks are scheduled for a forenoon, while it takes us at least half a day to do one thing or hold one meeting. It is a backward work pattern. What we are undertaking now is socialized mass production. If we do not change the work pattern and reform the work style, how can we adapt to the demand?

8. We must earnestly shift the party committee's main energy to ideological-political work and party building and improve and strengthen party leadership.

After implementing labor division between the party and the government, whether the party committee's main energy and time can be shifted to ideological-political work and party building is the key to the success of adapting to the new situation and improving the party's leadership. If this problem is not solved, it will be difficult to strengthen the party's work. Therefore, the party must manage the party and improve its leadership.

Party committee secretaries today basically consist of three models: 1. productive model, accustomed to handling production; 2. administrative model, accustomed to administrative management; 3. ideological model, able to perform ideological and educational work. Those of the third model are relatively few in number. Therefore, party committee secretaries also confront a problem: how to transform from the productive or administrative model to the ideological model and be truly competent in ideological work.

In regard to the issue of party leadership, the spirit of the Central Committee is very clear-cut. It is mainly leadership in political ideology and organization. It is achieved by means of four aspects: formulating and implementing the line, principles and policies; intensive and meticulous ideological-political and propaganda work; strict and careful organizational work; the exemplary roles of party members at their own posts. As long as we act accordingly, a transformation will occur in the party's ideological and organizational work.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POPULATION PROBLEM IN CHINA'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU /POPULATION RESEARCH/ in Chinese Nw 1, 29 Jan 85 pp 9-14

/Article by Wu Cangping /7135 3318 5493/ of Institute of Population Theory of China Renmin University: "The Development Strategy Has to Be Based on Our Population Problem"/

/Text/ 1. To Draw Up a Socioeconomic Development Strategy, We Have to Stress the Population Problem.

The report of the 12th CPC Congress clearly indicated: "The population problem is still a very important issue in our socioeconomic development. Family planning is one of our basic national policies." But up to the present day, the political awareness of this problem among the people in our economic task, academic, research, propaganda conduct and even among some of the leading comrades, is not enough. In our economic literature, economic task, and the research of socioeconomic development strategies, the population problem was often considered unimportant, even neglected, and it was at most used as an index for the calculation of average personal income, food, cultivated land and energy resources of our population. We rarely give a thought about the problem of overpopulation, the characteristics of our age structure, our structure of urban and rural population, the quality structure of our population and the important influence on our socioeconomic development due to the changes from them.

The neglect of the strategic meaning of the population problem by our academics, and our socioeconomic planning workers has its historical and ideological roots. After the Opium War, China became a semifeudal, semicolonized country, the problems of feeding the population, employment, education and housing were very serious. At that time, all kinds of scholars in our country and abroad gave various "prescriptions" of Malthusian family planning, but the problem was still there. In old China, the only premise for solving the population problem was obtained in the victory of the people's revolution and liberating the production force. Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis of using the revolution and the increase of production to solve the population problem at the eve of liberation is very scientific. During the initial postliberation period, within 3 years, the food production had reached to and even exceeded the highest level of the preliberation period, the problem of feeding the population was solved in a preliminary manner. At the same time, the problem of the huge number of unemployed personnel left over from the Gomindang reactionary government was solved very

promptly. These results thus built an understanding that under the socialist system, any population problem can be solved in no time. On the other hand, after the liberation, we applied the Soviet's population theory dogmatically and indiscriminately, misunderstood that the continuous increase of population was the population law of socialism. In practice, not until the seventies, had the population ever been included in any long-term or short-term national economic planning. But the bigger influence was the mistake of the "left" deviation in considering the high quota, giving arbitrary direction, a tendency to boasting and exaggeration, as standard, which has swamped the country since 1958. This reflected the lopsided understanding that appeared in the population theories such as, "Manpower Theory," and "The more the population, the more the production and the faster the speed of the socialist construction," and made some impression on some comrades. It is very natural that they tend to underestimate consciously or unconsciously the importance of the population problem in our socioeconomic development strategy.

Marxism is always against "Population Determinism," but fully confirms the accelerating or delaying effect of the population towards social development. And in some cases, the effect is very big. In the concrete condition of our country, the population situation cannot be without significant meaning in the socioeconomic development strategy.

First, the characteristics of our large population will remain for a long period of time. Our large population just like our poor foundation, is formed from our history, and this is an unavoidable fact which we have to accept. We cannot change it in a short period of time, and have to face the fact from now on. Not including Taiwan, our population was over 1 billion in 1982. And due to the high birthrate in the past 20 years, there is a huge amount of young population, so the population is now the ascendant. It needs a tremendous effort to control the population within 1.2 billion at the end of this century. The population will continuously increase even to the next century, and the prospect of a steady state of our population (no increase and decrease in population) may not be reached in 20 or 30 years. Even if the steady state of population is reached nationally, there are still many variations locally, and this will bring many complicated influences on the distribution of production forces, economic structures, technical structures, ownership problems, general and specific policies on employment, the proportion and direction of investment in education, the standard and structure of consuming, the scale of urbanization, the change of agricultural population to nonagricultural population in the socioeconomic development strategy. So we have to consider these characteristics of our population in our socioeconomic development strategy.

Second, the planning of strategy has to consider the characteristics of current and future situations of the population. People go through stages of infant, child, youth, adult and old age in their lives, and they bring different effects on the social development and different socioeconomical problems at different stages. A thorough development strategy must be able to foresee the population characteristics of different stages, and the focal point of solving a specific population problem. For example, the main points of the population problem today are raising and educating infants and children, childbearing, employment, educating and housing of youths and adults. After a period of time, the main points of the

problems, in addition to the employment of a even larger population, and the huge population shift from the rural to the urban area, will be the aging of the production force and the whole population, and new problems caused by the regulation of the birthrate. In human history, the phenomenon of a sudden increase or decrease in population was often neglected when it first appeared, thus the population problems have gradually accumulated. Once the seriousness of the problems was discovered, it was very difficult to solve them and it often took a long time, because there is an inertia in the increase of the population which has the characteristics of a long lasting time and a tendency to reappearance. The goal of population adjustment may not be reached in tens or even hundreds of years. So we have to have different predictions for different periods of time in our development strategy.

Third, there must be a target for the population strategy or a direction for the population development in our development strategy. Since we are practicing planning economy, it is impossible to have plans for socioeconomic development but no plan for population development. Reports of the 12th CPC congress stipulated a concrete target for a population limit of 1.2 billion at the end of the century. In the development strategy, we have to consider not only the different plans to reach this target, but also strategic policies on the population after the 21st century, such as according to the need, should we use a steady state, a continuous slow increase, or a decrease approach on our population, and which policy we should use on account of our population structure. All of these involve the matters of whether or not we should have any change in our childbearing policy and the time of change if there is one. And we should study them thoroughly.

Fourth, there must be a strategic consideration on the balance between population and ecology. We have a large territory and large amount of resources and production, but the average natural resources for each person of the whole population is very low compared to the level of the world averages. There is only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of grass land,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of tillable land,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of water resource,  $\frac{1}{8}$  of forest, so from the scope of population and the level of consumption, we cannot ignore the long range consideration of the pressure those have put on to our resources and environment. It is not right to hold the population problem solely responsible for the insufficiency of resources and the destruction of ecology. But we have to understand that the pressure caused by the increase of population on our environment is a long term factor. The pressure on the ecology from the population is a gradual, cumulative, and direct process. But it is even more of an indirect process, such as the excessive cultivation, excessive grazing, turning the lakefront to farm land, destroying forest for farming, misuse of tillable land, the excessive use of water for agriculture (about 70 percent of total use of water) and heavy applications of insecticide and fertilizer. Behind those practices destroying the ecology, mostly there is a hidden population factor. In the beginning, the effect of increasing population on the destruction of the environment was usually overlooked. Later on, even it was recognized, because of the urgent need of food, clothing, housing and energy, there was no other choice but to continuously be forced to put pressure on the environment. Everybody knows that if we cannot protect our environment, it will be very difficult to correct the mistake after it has been destroyed. The price to pay will be very high. So we have to have a strategic consideration on the balance between population and ecology.

## 2. To Make the Most of Our Superiority of Large Labor Forces is a Subject Worth Long-term Study in Our Development Strategy

If we say "large population and poor foundation" is the characteristic of our country, then the large labor force is our main problem. Even if we use the method of population control, the problem of a large labor force still cannot be solved in a short period of time, because the large population, which has been born already, upon reaching the working age, will ask to join the labor force. We cannot change the fact of the huge amount of working people produced in the period of high birthrates in the fifties to seventies. We can only adroitly guide action according to circumstances. The data from the third census showed that after devoting major efforts to family planning for 10 years, our total number of newborns of that year was still 20.7 million. Even if we subtract the possible 5-6 percent death before reaching working age, in 1966, the 15 years old population will still be as high as 19.5 million. A more serious problem is that the population, born from more than one generation of high birthrates has already reached the age to produce the second generation. It will not be possible to slow down the momentum of a large labor force and vigorous growth of population in more than half a century. Thus the four characteristics in the quantity of our population of working age are as follows: first is its large size; second is its fast growth rate; third is its high proportion in the total population; and forth is the long growth period.

We already felt the large pressure from the population at working age, but this is just a "prelude," the larger scope is still to be expected. According to the third population census and the most predictions from scholars in our country and abroad, the average growth rate of our population of working age is faster than the growth rate of our total population by 60-70 percent. From now til 2000, the average yearly growth rate is around 1.65 percent. The growth rate in the eighties is higher than the nineties, and the average yearly growth rate in this 10 years is higher than two percent, which is among the fastest growth of population of working age in the world. The average yearly net increase is above 10 million, and it was even higher in the decade before this decade. It has been estimated that at the end of this century, when our population approaches 1.2 billion, the population in the working ages between 15 years and 65 years will exceed 800 million, close to 70 percent of the total population. This is the highest proportion in human history, and may be close to or even higher than the 69 percent record of Japan in 1969. Even using our working age (male 16-59, female 16-54), the estimated population at age of working at 2000 will be around 750 millions, and if we use 15-59 as working age, it will be close to 800 million, see Table below:

The Population of Working Age in Mid-1981 and 2000

A	B		C		D	
	E	E	G	H	I	J
1. Male 16-59 Female 16-54	550	55	730-770	60-64.2	1.58-1.89 Ave. 1.74	10.00-12.22
2. 15-64 <sup>a</sup>	617	61.5	810-840	67.5-70	1.52-1.73 Ave. 1.63	10.72-12.39
3. 15-59	592	59.24	780-810	65-67.5	1.54-1.76 Ave. 1.65	10.44-12.11

Keys: A, The various statistical ranges for the working population (years).

B, Population of working age in 1982, based on the calculation of the 10% sampling data of the third population census.

C, The estimated population of working age at 2000 by most of the scholars in our country and abroad, based on the total population of 1.2 billion at the end of 2000.

D, The average yearly increase within this century.

E, Population (millions).

F, Percentage of total population %.

G, Population (millions).

H, Percentage of total population %.

I, Rate %.

J, The average yearly net growth (millions).

a, The international ranges.

From the Table above, we can see that at the end of this century our population of working age will reach 810 to 840 million, possibly close to the total population of working age of advanced countries.\* Even to the 21st century, the situation of our large population of working age will remain for a long time, estimated to be 700 to 800 million or even more, and last for 30 years or more.

The issue of population of working age is a decisive factor for the whole population. It determines the situation and development of children, youths and older people, it is the creator of the economic wealth and spiritual creator of the society, it is the producer of the multiplying population. The arrangement and utilization of population of working age is related to the important issues of population propagation, material and spiritual civilization, and the stability and unity of our society. In developing strategy, we cannot treat the issue of population of working age lightly, especially facing the current revolutionary challenge and new technical opportunities, we should consider it carefully.

\*Based on the estimation of the United Nations, the World Bank and the Census Bureau of the United States, in year 2000, the population of the developed countries will be 1.273 billion, and the proportion to their population of working age (between 15 and 64) will be 66 percent.

There are two aspects in our large population of working age: If we can arrange and handle it properly, with everyone utilizing his ability, this will be a tremendous advantage; but if we do not handle it properly, or treat it lightly and let it wander its own path, this will become a huge "burden." It will not only hinder the development of production and process of modernization, but restrict the improvement of people's live. This is an "inferior situation," it can even form a threat to the stability and unity of the society, and become a political problem. Currently we have a population of working age of 630 million, a problem difficult to solve for any country. We are a socialist country, we have a social premise to solve this problem. But our production force is still not fully developed, we do not have enough tillable land, our resources are not developed sufficiently, and our entire economic structure cannot adjust to this situation. Especially after the accomplishment of four modernizations, more labor force has to move from the agricultural department to the nonagricultural department. It is very difficult to solve these problems, but it is not impossible. So to devise a development strategy for our socialist country, we have to consider how to utilize the advantage of our large working population.

To utilize our advantage of large working populaiton is not the refurbished version of the "Manpower Theory," suggested by the wrong thinking of the "left" deviation. It is not at all in conflict with family planning. First, family planning is aiming at the population that is not yet born, while utilizing our large work force is about the population already born and reaching working age. Fwmily planning can only decrease the future labor force, it cannot do anything about the labor force that is already born. But in the long term, the two are complementary to each other. Second, before a person reaches working age, the society has to "advance" a large sum for his education. To control birthrate is just to reduce this "advanced" sum from society; to the population at working age, the "advanced" money has already been spent. They should contribute something to "repay" the society, and not continuously be a burden to the society. If they just loaf around, do not participate in production or any useful work, the society still has to keep supporting them. On the contrary, if they can give certain play to some function, it will be more or less a "profit" to the society. If we can organize them properly, all of the 600 to 700 million in the labor force will be a tremendous advantage. Third, to advocate family planning, and to control the population increase will lighten the burden of newly increased population from society and families and increase the investment in development. This is advantageous not only to the arrangement of employment and education of the population at working age, but to bring into play the initiative of the workers. So the control of population growth and the development of the advatnages of a large labor force are interrelated.

In development strategy, we have to face a large population of working age, which is more than 600 million at present, will be more than 700 million at the end of the eighties, more than 800 million at the end of nineties, and a steady state of 700 to 800 million for a long period of time afterwards. Also we have problem of a large amount of population shift from agriculture to nonagriculture. This indeed is a difficult problem. We should bring the items such as raising the quality of population and the labor force, shortening the working days and hours, increasing the production rate, and reasonable arrangement of

the age limit of working population, together and try to solve them. This problem will involve many areas, such as, the structure of our technical economy, the structure of the national economy, the ratio of consumption and accumulation, the shift and distribution of urban and rural population, the structure of the ownership system, the general and specific policy about urban employment, the responsive production system and diversified economy of the farming village, the development of basic construction of farming area and the increase in the accumulation from the labor, and the reform of our labor system, wage system, and retirement system. The issue of population of working age touches upon a string of problems in the areas of social, and cultural and technical education, such as, education reform which will adapt to the characteristics of our large labor force of low quality; the cultural, technical training and sparetime education for the workers; the arrangement of the working and leisure hours for the workers; and the cultural lives of the workers. In short, the development strategy of a socialist country must have goals of constructing communism, nurturing a new breed of people of communism who develop in an all-round way--morally, intellectually and physically, as well as achieving a high level of women's liberation.

### 3. In the Development Strategy, We Must Fully Consider the Structures of Sex, Age and Quality of our Population in the Future

The structural changes of our population will gradually appear in the process of our vigorous population control, and the two major changes are: (1) a sudden change in the age structure, and a rapid aging of the population; (2) the structural changes of population of different qualities. Besides, the strategy has to adapt a measure to prevent the unbalance of the sex ratio of the population.

(1) An aging population is a natural phenomenon from the decrease of the death rate and birthrate. But the characteristic of our process is that the speed of this phenomenon will be faster than anytime in human history. If we do not change the current vigorous requirement of family planning in time, the extent of aging will be an event never before seen in human history. France is the first country in the world starting the aging process, and it has taken 100 years to reach their present stages. So far, the country with the fastest aging rate is Japan. Within 30 years, their percentage ratio of people age 65 years and above to the total population changed from five percent in the early fifties, to nine percent. It was estimated that at the end of this century, it will be higher than the level of the developed countries in western Europe today. This means that it only takes half of a century for the Japanese population to age to the stage of present western Europe. In 1982, the ratio of our people age 60 years and above to the total population was 7.64 percent, and that of 65 years and above was only 4.9 percent. If we want to limit our population to 1.2 billion at the end of the century, then it will be unavoidable that at that time, the people above 60 years will exceed 10 percent, and above 65 years will exceed 7 percent of the population. Based on the data of the third population census, estimating the scope of older population of the later half of the next century, is a relatively certain process. The differences in the estimation are from the varying degrees in the estimation and prediction of death rates. The approximate scopes of our older population in years 2000, 2020, and 2040, based on the estimations of scholars in our country and abroad are shown in the Table below:

	Year 2000	Year 2020	Year 2040
Population of Age 60 and Above (x10 <sup>6</sup> )	125-135	200-270	350-above 500
Population of Age 65 and Above (x10 <sup>6</sup> )	86- 92	140-180	230-above 350

Although there are some differences among the estimated values of the older population, the growth rate of our older population is faster than both that of the total population of working age. The later two showed their estimated growth rate between 2.5 to 3 percent. We can see that the extent and speed of the aging of our population is very rare in the world.

We have to pay attention to the prospect of population aging and take precautions when we develop the strategy. But we still cannot relax the present population control. So we have to pay attention to the possible complicated social problems that are attributed to a very old population from an aging process which is too rapid. Those problems are such as the heavy economic burden of the older people to the society, the caring of the older population by the young and middle age people, the hampering of the utilization of advanced science and technology from the aging labor forces, the unfavorable situation for the rapid change of technical and economic structure, and the lack of vigor and vitality in the society. To the end, it will affect such serious areas as the speed of economic development and the national income distribution. A rapidly aging population of a developing country is a brand new problem unheard of in human history, and we still cannot foresee its effects in the areas of psychology and socioeconomics. We should not overlook it and let the age structure change too rapidly.

On the other hand, at the end of this century, if we can control the population within 1.2 billion, and the degree of aging of our population does not reach to the present stage of Japan and United States, and is much lower than that of western Europe and our industrial and agricultural production has increased fourfold by that time, then we will be able to handle this situation under our socialist system. The real serious problem of our aging population will not arrive until when the population born after the revolution reach to their old age, that starts in the twenties of the 21st century and will last for a long time. The rapid increase of the older population after 2020 is the result of a continuous high birthrate after the revolution and the increase of the average life span of our population. We cannot change this situation. The only influence we can exert is changing the ratio of older population to the total population, by means of birthrate manipulation to affect the degree and speed of aging. But if we showed excessive concern about the aging of the population, and go to the other extreme, hastily increasing the birthrate and enlarging the ratio of youth population for the sake of rejuvenizing the population, then it will be very possible that for a period of time the age distribution of our population appears like a "dumb bell" shape, a situation with very high proportions of both older and very young population, an enlarged population, and an age structure of population even more peculiar, and this will be even more difficult to handle. Thus in our strategy, based on our production level, our socioeconomic development, the size and structure of our population and the psychological condition of our society, we have to consider the proper time for relaxing population control, the extent of the relaxation, the general and specific policy toward the problem of aging population, and a way to gradually revise the age structure of our population, making it more reasonable. This is indeed a significant strategy decision.

(2) To devise a development strategy, we have to consider, from all sides, the change of the structure of our population quality from the restriction of the growth of our population. To aim at the problem of our large population with fairly low quality, we explicitly made a suggestion: To restrict the quantity and raise the quality of our population is the population policy of our country. In short, limiting the number of people, allowing fewer births, practicing eugenics, and paying more attention in raising children, all of these will help to raise the quality of our population. At present, we are practicing a population restriction policy, which uses different treatments toward urban and rural populations as well as Han and minority nationalities. This will cause a hidden change which will be unfavorable to the quality of our entire nation.

The quality of population mainly means the quality in the three areas of body, thought, culture and science and the decisive factor is the quality of culture and science. Without the knowledge of culture and science, we cannot bring about the practice of eugenics, raising and educating children properly. The lofty realm of spirit and the great ideas will even be out of the question. Thus, in the development strategy, we have to put the educational level of the population as the most important sign for measuring the quality of population.

The date of our third population census showed that: There are two characteristics in the educational level of our population. First, in general, it is very low. Second, there are big differences among districts, between urban and rural areas, and among different nationalities. The proportion of illiterate and semi-illiterate population of age 12 years and above of the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of the mainland of our country is 23.5 percent of the total population; that of Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai is 12.43 percent, 13.92 percent and 9.99 percent, respectively; closed to 30 percent for minorities and 32.1 percent in Guizhou province. As to the proportion of population with an educational level of high school and above, the national average is 7.2 percent, Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai are 22.5 percent, 15.6 percent and 23.8 percent, respectively, general provinces are between 7 and 8 percent, the average of minority nationalities is less than 5 percent, specific remote border minority nationalities are even lower, for example, Xizang 1.7 percent, Yunnan 3.4 percent, Guizhou 3.4 percent, and Sichuan only 4.1 percent. The differences in the college educational level are even more striking. These differences are formed from a background of long history and determined by the entire economic and educational bases. It is very difficult to abolish the differences among districts, between urban and rural areas, and among nationalities in a short period of time.

It has been shown from practice that there is a negative interrelationship between the educational levels of urban, rural areas; districts; and nationalities, and their birthrates. This means that cities with high educational level especially big municipalities, show good results in their family planning and have very low birthrates. For example, the system of couples with one child is already widespread in Shanghai and Beijing in recent years. As to rural areas and minority regions with lower educational levels, the results are in general behind those of the cities, with high birthrates and couples with two or more

children still consist of 53.4 percent of the marriages. This forms an unfavorable educational structure, that is the proportion of urban population which have higher educational level and better condition for improvement decreases, while the proportion of population which have lower educational level and less chance for improvement, e.g., rural and minority regions, increases. Among the 20.7 million infants born in 1981, 9.9 percent are from the urban area, 10.3 percent from the minority nationalities, and 90.1 percent from rural areas. This situation may very possibly cause a decrease or slow progress in the average level of our educational quality in our new generation.

To control the number of the population, we have to apply a policy of different treatments among urban and rural areas, different districts and different nationalities. In short, it is more lenient in the rural area than with the urban area, and the requirement of family planning for the minority nationalities are even much more lenient. Thus it is unavoidable that in a period of time, among the newborn population, the population ratio of the rural and minority regions will be a great deal more than that in the urban area. We cannot "stop eating in case of choking," so we should not have any hesitation toward the policy of population control. But on the other hand, we have to pay close attention on the strategy. From a long-term point of view, this problem plays a very important part in the matter of the prosperity of the Chinese nation, the relationship between urban and rural areas, the interrelationship among different nationalities, and the political issues such as the gradual elimination of the difference among urban and rural areas, the approaching and mixing among nationalities, so we cannot treat it lightly.

At the present time, the most important thing is to adopt various measures devoting a major effort to the rapid improvement of the cultural and scientific quality of the rural and minority populations. These include reform of the education system, revising the structure of educational investment, allotting more funds to the universal education of rural and minority regions, carrying out compulsory education efficiently, making high school education universal in the whole country and thus decrease the differences in the educational levels and the conditions for creativity between urban and rural areas and among nationalities. We have to connect this problem with the raising of the educational level of the Chinese nation and the policy of population regulation in the development strategy, to make the structure of our population favorable to the improvement of the quality of our entire population.

(3) In the strategy, we have to adopt various political, economic, social and legal measures to prevent the unbalance of the sex ratio of our population. Both the sex ratio (male to female) of our population and that of our newborn infants are much lower than those before the liberation. But in our third population census, it was discovered that in 1981, the sex ratio of our population is 106.28, and that of newborns is 108.47, both are at the high side. There are many reasons for the high sex ratio of our population, such as, the general trend of high sex ratio in our history, the difference in age group death rates between males and females, and the high sex ratio of our newborns. In the strategy, we should pay even more attention to the high sex ratio of infants. Judging from the sex ratio of infants in 1982, the sex ratios of infants in recent years are estimated all above 107, which is higher than the 105+2 level

generally accepted in the world at the present time. From the sex ratios of infants and young children in the population census of 1953 and 1964, we can estimate the sex ratios of the newborns in these two censuses; it showed that the sex ratio of newborns in 1982, is possibly higher than that in 1953 and 1964. From the point of view of biology, population control and family planning should not cause increase of sex ratio; but from the viewpoint of social factors, the idea of regarding men as superior to women might be the cause of the incidents of drowning female infants in certain areas, this might cause the increase of the sex ratio as shown in the statistics. The reasons for the high sex ratio of our infants is still to be studied further. From viewpoint of strategy, the steady high sex ratio of the population will produce some social problem, thus we have to pay close attention to it. Currently, men and women in our country are equal on the political and legal basis, but actually, in many aspects, they are not treated equally, such as in education, employment, family status, and social status. Thus to raise the status of women has been the strategy for the prevention of the imbalance of sex ratios of the population and of newborns all along.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE AGE AT MARRIAGE IN CHINA

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/Article by Li Rongshi /2621 2837 2514/ of the Population Census Bureau of the State Council: "An Analysis of the Age at Marriage in China"/

/Text/ "When boys and girls get old, they must get married." This is an old Chinese saying. But how old does this "old" mean? What kind of change in the age at marriage has occurred in the Chinese population? Basically, we did not have any statistical data in this area in the past. The 1982 national population census was the first time in our history that computers were used to collect the numbers and ratios of the unmarried, married, widowed, and divorced population based on the age and location. We did a full survey on the marriage condition of the population age 15 and above. Based on this precious data and consulting the common formulas from abroad, the author calculated the average age at marriage of each province, municipality, and autonomous region (this category of survey was not included in the census in Xizang, so Xizang is not included in this article) and gave a rough analysis according to the calculated result.

I. Introduction

There are tables about the national marriage condition based on ages in the collective data of the 10 percent sampling of the population census finished in July 1983.<sup>1</sup> Also, among the data of every province, municipality, and autonomous region, there are such tables. To use the numbers of unmarried people of each age group between 15 and 50 in these tables, the average, median, and mode of the age at marriage can be calculated.<sup>2</sup> The calculated result is shown in Table 1:

Table 1

	<u>Average age at marriage</u>	<u>Median of age at marriage</u>	<u>Mode of age at marriage</u>
Male	25.49	24.08	23
Female	22.80	21.90	20
Difference	+2.69	+2.18	+3

The practical meaning of the population statistics data in Table 1 can be explained as follows: on the 1st of July 1982, among the married population, the male is most likely married at 23, which showed the highest proportion among the age groups; half of the males got married before 24.08; and their average age at marriage is 25.49. The female is most likely married at 20, half of the females got married before 21.90; and their average age at marriage is 22.80.

After the population census, the State Family Planning Commission proceeded a per thousand population birthrate sampling survey and obtained the women's age at marriage directly. The average age at marriage for women in 1981 was 22.82,<sup>3</sup> which basically is the same as the result we calculated.

Among these statistical data, the mode of age at marriage usually gives people a more direct impression and feeling, but the one that can explain the situation is the average age at marriage. The average age at marriage of a female is directly related to childbearing, so it is far more important, and our discussion and analysis will emphasize this area.

We want to mention that the upper age limit we used in our calculation of the unmarried proportion was 50, this means that people who have not married at 50 are considered to never get married for the rest of their lives. Nationally, the number of these bachelors is over million, about 2.97 percent of the male population of age 15 and above; while the ratio of females who will never get married for life is very low, about 0.21 percent of the female population of age 15 and above, or approximately 70,000. These two ratios reflect a very significant problem in the marriage situation of our population, and should arouse some attention from the appropriate department.

## II. Distribution

Using the same method, we calculated the average age at marriage of every province, municipality, and autonomous region, see Table 2.

Among the 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, the region with highest average age at marriage for both male and female is Shanghai, with males 27.82, and females 25.76. The region with lowest male average age at marriage is Heilongjiang, with age 23.74; and that with lowest female average age at marriage is Qinghai, with age 21.44. The major distribution situation is discussed as follows:

First, from the viewpoint of the geographical distribution, the average age at marriage of females shows a situation of being in the east while low in the west, high in the south and low in the north, high in the coast area and low in the inland.

Based on the average age at marriage of the female population, the 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous can be divided into five groups, see Table 3.

Table 2 The Average Age at Marriage of the Population of the Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions unit:years

<u>District</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Difference</u>
National	25.49	22.80	2.69
Beijing	26.03	24.79	1.24
Tianjin	26.00	24.78	1.22
Hebei	24.78	22.81	1.97
Shanxi	24.66	22.03	2.63
Nei Mongol	24.12	22.38	1.74
Liaoning	24.35	23.34	1.01
Jilin	24.18	22.81	1.37
Heilongjiang	23.74	22.56	1.18
Shanghai	27.82	25.76	2.06
Jiangsu	25.74	22.96	2.78
Zhejiang	25.85	22.67	3.18
Anhui	26.60	22.79	3.81
Fujian	24.99	22.18	2.81
Jiangxi	24.93	21.90	3.03
Shandong	25.25	23.28	1.97
Henan	25.20	23.02	2.18
Hubei	25.37	22.91	2.46
Hunan	26.00	22.11	3.89
Guangdong	26.90	23.46	3.44
Guangxi	26.41	23.01	3.40
Sichuan	26.44	22.09	4.35
Guizhou	25.30	22.49	2.81
Yunnan	24.73	22.03	2.70
Xizang	-	-	-
Shaanxi	24.97	22.51	2.46
Gansu	24.79	21.79	3.00
Qinghai	23.86	21.44	2.42
Ningxia	23.89	21.81	2.08
Xinjiang	24.26	22.13	2.31

From Table 3 below, the three big municipalities show the highest level of average age at marriage for the female population; coastal regions, such as Liaoning, Guangdong and Shandong are at a relatively high level; and the border area at the Northwest and the Southwest has the lowest average age at marriage for females. If the five groups are combined into high, relatively high and low three categories, then Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai are in the first high category; and among the 10 coastal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, there are 9 of them in the second category, which is the category of relatively high age; while the northwest and the southwest and the western part of the north, such as Nei Mongol and Shanxi are in the third category. Economically more developed districts, i.e., the Northeast, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Henan, Hubei in the Central Plains mostly belong to the second category;

while the inland Sichuan, Hunan and Jiangxi are in the third category. There is an exception in each of the later two categories: coastal province Fujian is in the third category, and Shaanxi of the northwest is in the second category. After a careful study, we find the objective reason for these exceptions. Shaanxi is the economic and cultural center of the northwest, and Fujian is a relatively underdeveloped region in the east. The women's average age at marriage in these two provinces reflects the differences in the level of their economic development. From here, we can see that the distribution of average age at marriage of the female population is closely related to the economic and educational conditions, and we will analyze this point in more details later.

Table 3

<u>Group</u>	<u>Average Age at Marriage (years)</u>	<u>Names of Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions</u>
1	21.00-21.99	Qinghai, Ningxia, Gansu, Jiangxi, Shanxi
2	22.00-22.50	Yunnan, Sichuan, Hunan, Xinjiang, Fujian, Nei Mongol, Guizhou
3	22.51-22.99	Shaanxi, Heilongjiang, Zhejiang, Anhui, Hebei, Jilin, Hubei
4	23.00-23.99	Guangxi, Henan, Jiangsu, Shandong, Guangdong, Liaoning
5	24 and above	Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai

Second, the distribution of the average age at marriage of the male population is different from that of the female's. First, in the three provinces of the northeast the male gets married relatively early. Especially in Heilongjiang, the men's average age at marriage is the lowest among all the 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, Jilin is at the fifth, and Liaoning is at the seventh. In the entire northeast region, the distribution of the age at marriage of the male population is opposite to that of the female, possibly due to regional traditions and customs. Second, the five provinces and autonomous regions of Guangdong, Anhui, Sichuan, Guangxi and Shandong, the average age at marriage of the male are higher than those of Beijing, Tianjin, and just below that of Shanghai, this is an unexpected situation. Carefully studying the unmarried population proportion of each age group of every province, municipality, and autonomous region, we discovered that this is due to the relatively high proportion of an older unmarried population. In general, the age at marriage belongs to a deviation distribution, that is the longer the tail of the distribution curve, the more influence it has on the average value. Among the 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, there are 6 of them with above 10 percent unmarried population in their age 30 groups: Shanghai 14.00 percent; Guangxi 13.55 percent; Guangdong 12.93 percent, Anhui 11.95 percent; Sichuan 11.80 percent; Hebei 10.06 percent. Comparing to these, Beijing and Tianjin have much lower values, around seven percent. Hebei also shows a relatively long line at the early married end of the age at its marriage distribution curve, and it is the only province among the six provinces and regions having the unmarried population lower than 70 percent in the 22 years

age group. The effects from both ends cancelled each other, so it is understandable that the average marriage ages of the provinces and regions of Sichuan, Gaungdong, Gaungxi, Anhui, and Shandong are higher than those of Beijing and Tianjin.

Third, the average ages of marriage of males are higher than those of females among all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The largest difference is in Sichuan where the male is older than the female by 4.35 years; the next is Hunan, 3.89 years; then comes Anhui, 3.81 years. The smallest difference is Liaoning, 1.01 years; the next is Heilongjiang, 1.18 years; then come Tianjin, Beijing, 1.22 and 1.24 respectively. For details see Table 2.

From Table 2, we can see that, there are three districts with relatively high difference in the age at marriage among males and females. One is two provinces and a region in the Midsouth, namely Hunan, Guangdong and Guangxi, with a difference of more than 3 years. Another is three provinces in the Southwest, Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou, and they all show an above national average value in the difference in the age at marriage among males and females, while Sichuan is the highest in the country. The third is that most of the east except Shandong and Shanghai, all have higher than national average values. Among them, Xhejiang, Anhui and Jiangxi show more than 3 years in difference. Contrasting to these, the differences in the age at marriage among males and females are generally lower in the northeast and the north while the northwest is in the middle.

### III. Comparison

To further understand the developmental condition of the age at marriage of our population, let's do some simplified comparisons.

1. Comparison in History. In the feudal society of the past several thousand years, the ruling class advocated increasing population and encouraged even forced early marriage due to the needs of conscription and more taxation. From the population growth point of view, a high birthrate was needed to compensate for the high mortality at that time. Thus, the custom of early marriage in our country is very serious. Although there is no specific statistics data in the history, there are quite a few writings about this subject. For example, in "Kongzi JiaYu" /Confucius' Family Talk/, it is mentioned, "Man starts to wear a hat when he turns 20, it is the beginning of his fatherhood; woman gets married when she turns 15, it is the way to serve man." In Mozi's "Jieyong, Shang" /Thrift, first volume/, it is also said that, "Man gets a wife at 20, and a girl gets married at 15 was the rule of the king." King of Yue, Goujian, in his work "Shi Nian Sheng Ju" /10 Years Production and Accumulation/, demanded that "If a man has not had a wife when he is 20, and a woman has not married when she is 17, even their parents are guilty of a crime." In The Book of Songs, there are verses such as, "When I was 14, I became your wife. Being so shy, I could not lift my face.;" and "May I ask how old is today's bride? Just 15." And the "two eight beauty" /sweet 16/ in the novels and dramas are even more widespread. The heros and beauties in the "Hong Lou Meng" /Red Chamber's Dream/ were all married very early. All of these indicated that the age at marriage for women in the Qing Dynasty and before is about 14 to 17, and there was not much change over this long period of time.

After the Xinhai Revolution /1912 Revolution/, the old feudal custom was shaken, and the age at marriage for women was raised higher. According to Chen Da's survey between February 1940 and June 1944 of Chenggung County in Yunnan Province, the female's average age at marriage is 17.64.<sup>4</sup> According to the joint survey of Beijing Family Planning Commission and the Institute of Population of China Renmin University, rural women's average age at marriage are 18.45 in the forties; 18.28 in the fifties, 20.84 in the sixties; and 22.37 in the seventies.<sup>5</sup> From the changes mentioned above, we can see that in old China, there was not much change in the women's age at marriage, and in new China, the average age at marriage of the female population has raised remarkably. In these 30 years, it raised about 2 years every 10 years. To investigate the reason, we should say that it is the result of the rise of women's social status, the economic and educational development and the improvement of the living standard of the population.

2. Comparison with the Other Countries. According to the data from the Japanese Bureau of Statistics of the Prime Minister's Office, in 1980, the average age at marriage of males is 27.8, and that of females is 25.2,<sup>6</sup> the males are 2.6 years older than the females. Comparing these numbers, the average age at marriage of our male population is 2.3 years lower than that of Japan, and females 2.4 years lower, and the difference between male and female is basically the same. The present age at marriage of our people is equivalent to the level of that of Japan in 1950 (male 25.9, female 23.0).

According to the United Nations' 1980 "Renkou Nianjian" /Population Yearbook/, in 1976, the male average age at marriage is 2.96, and female is 23.13 in the Philipines; and in 1980, the male average age at marriage is 27.70 and female 24.37 in Singapore.<sup>7</sup> These two countries and we have similar customs and habits, but their marriage ages are higher than ours. The targets of the survey in these data might include a small amount of people who are married for the second time, but basically, we still haven't reached the late marriage level of some relatively developed countries in Asia at the present time.

Comparing with the advanced countries in Europe, the average age at marriage of our population is even lower. According to the statistics data from abroad, in France, women's average age at marriage was 23.26 in 1906, 23.55 in 1910, 23.67 in 1913. In the same period, the British women's average age at marriage was 24-25, Italy 23.8-24.6, and Sweden, 23.6-26.88.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, compared with most of the Asian countries, our female's average age at marriage is still relatively high. In countries like India and Bangladesh in south Asia, where child marriage still exists, more than 30 percent of marriages are in the age group of 10 to 14. The median values of female's age at marriage in Pakistan, Albania and Egypt are all not even 20.<sup>9</sup> Female's average age at marriage is 15.8 in India in 1960, and 18.5 in Iran in 1966.<sup>10</sup> From these comparisons, we can see the tremendous results from our program advocating late marriage and late childbearing.

From the comparison above, we obtained a conclusion, that the average age at marriage of our population, especially the female's age at marriage, rose considerably compared with old China. These values are higher than most Asia and Africa countries, but there is still a quite distance when compared with some more developed countries.

#### IV. Interrelation Analysis

The obvious change of our female's age at marriage is certainly related to advocating the national policy of "late marriage and late childbearing." But the objective effect from the economic and educational development also cannot be neglected. To study the mutual effect of the female's age at marriage and the social and economic factors, the author used the collective data from the 1982 population census handbook and 10 percent sampling, and the provincial data from the 1983 "Zhongguo Tongji Nianjin" /Chinese Statistics Yearbook/ to produce an interrelation analysis in four categories.

The first category is the interrelation analysis between the age at marriage and the proportion of urban population. As mentioned before, the age at marriage of females of the three municipalities, Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, are far higher than those of other provinces and autonomous regions, thus it is necessary to analyze this category. The results of the analysis are as follows: the standard deviation of the female's average age at marriage of all the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions is 0.96; the standard deviation of the proportion of the urban population is 15.96, the variance is 10.41, the relation between the two factors is positive, that is, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions with a high proportion of urban population, also show high average age at marriage of female population, with correlation coefficient 0.68.<sup>11</sup> See Table 4.

Table 4 Table of the Interrelation Analysis

<u>Category</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>
1	Proportion of Urban Population	0.96	15.96	10.41	+	0.68
2	Employment Rate of Female Population (Agriculture Excluded)	0.96	18.48	11.86	+	0.67
3	Illiteracy Rate (Male and Female)	0.96	5.60	1.78	-	0.33
	Illiteracy Rate (Female, 28 Districts)	0.96	7.23	1.82	-	0.26
	Illiteracy Rate (Female, 23 Districts)	1.04	3.86	1.71	-	0.43
	Educational Level	0.96	1,452.15	1,130.28	+	0.81
4	Total Agricultural and Industrial Production Value (28 Districts)	0.96	1,111.02	900.07	+	0.84
	Total Agricultural and Industrial Production Value (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai Excluded)	0.573	269.35	90.79	+	0.59
	Per Capita Expense of Farming Families (28 Districts)	0.96	65.31	51.01	+	0.81
	Per Capita Expense of Farming Families (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai excluded)	0.573	40.84	13.90	+	0.59

Keys: A. Factor to be examined  
 B. The standard deviation of average ages at marriage ( $\sigma_x$ )  
 C. The standard deviation of the factor to be examined ( $\sigma_y$ )  
 D. Variance ( $\sigma^2_{xy}$ )  
 E. Direction of the relation  
 F. Correlation coefficient ( $r$ )

Why do the urban women have higher marriage ages? It is generally believed that this has something to do with employment. Thus, the second category of the analysis is the relation between the age at marriage and ratio of employment of the female population. The ratio of employment of the female population is calculated as follows: the employed female population (the total number of employed women except those in the fields of agriculture, forestry, fishery, and animal husbandry) obtained from the collective data of the 10 percent sampling of the population census of each province, municipality, and autonomous region was used as numerator, and the population of females age 15 and above of the corresponding province as denominator. The result is a positive relationship, with a correlation coefficient 0.67, this means that, the province with a high employed female population, also has comparatively high age at marriage for women.

The correlation coefficients obtained from the above two categories are between 0.6 and 0.7, this means that the age at marriage is certainly related with the extent of urbanization and extent of employment, but they are not very closely related.

The third category is the interrelation analysis of the female's age at marriage with their educational level, and there are four groups in this category, their specific conditions are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

A	B	C	D	E	F
1. Illiteracy ratio <sup>a</sup>	0.96	5.60	1.76	-	0.33
2. Illiteracy ratio of women I (28 Districts)	0.96	7.23	1.82	-	0.26
3. Illiteracy ratio of women II (Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Shandong, Guangxi excluded)	1.04	3.86	1.71	-	0.43
4. Parameter of Educational Level <sup>b</sup>	0.96	1452.15	1130.28	+	0.81

Keys: A. Factor to be examined

- B. The standard deviation of average ages of marriage ( $\sigma_x$ )
- C. The standard deviation of the factor to be examined ( $\sigma_y$ )
- D. Variance ( $\sigma^2_{xy}$ )
- E. Direction of the relation
- F. Correlation coefficient ( $r$ )

Sources: a. The illiteracy ratio is the percentage ratio of illiterates and semi-illiterates population to the total population of age 12 and above.

b. The parameter of educational level is obtained from the number of population with different educational levels in every thousand population.

The calculation is as follows: Parameter value = number of college graduates  $\times 100$  + number of college students  $\times 100$  + number of high school graduates and students  $\times 50$  + number of junior high school graduates and students.

The correlation coefficients of the first three groups in the table above show relatively small values, indicate a not very obvious interrelationship. This is possibly due to the very small difference in marriage ages among illiterate women and women who graduated from grade school or junior high school, and objectively, the relation between them is very small.

To counter the problem mentioned above, the fourth group increased the influence of the educational level of the college and high school. The result of the analysis obtained is a highly positive relation, with a correlation coefficient of 0.81.

The analysis in this group indicated that there is a interrelative relation between women's age at marriage and their educational level, but this is only important when it is concerned with women with college or high school background.

The fourth category is the interrelation analysis of women's age at marriage and the level of economic development. Since this type of data is not available in the population census materials, we used the 1982 total industrial and agricultural production of all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions from 1983 "Zhongguo Tongji Nianjian" China Statistics Yearbook, and the spok check survey data of 1982 per capita expense of farming families in all the districts.<sup>12</sup> The result of the analysis is that there is a positive relation between the total production from industry and agriculture and women's age at marriage, with a correlation coefficient 0.84; and there is also a positive relation between the per capita expense of farming families and women's age at marriage, with a correlation coefficient of 0.81. These two groups both showed a high degree of interrelation. But we have to point out that, the big municipalities showed greater influence on the results in the analysis of this category, if we analyze these two groups with only 25 provinces, and autonomous regions without Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai, the correlation coefficient obtained is 0.59, although the value is lower, it still shows the existence of a definite interrelation. This relation indicates that whether from the large scope (total production value), or from a small scope (personal expense), generally speaking, the area with high economic level shows high women's age at marriage, and this is also the cause of the interrelations in the first and second categories.

From the interrelation analysis of these four categories, we obtained the following impressions: first, economic level and educational level, especially the population ratio of college graduates, college students, high school graduates and students, showed an important influence on women's average age at marriage. Second, women's age at marriage is under the crossed influences of all sorts of social and economic elements, both employment and urbanization showed the existence of interrelation with women's age at marriage, with a correlation coefficient between 0.6 and 0.7, but none of them showed a very strong relation. Third, in recent years, the average age at marriage of our female population is decreasing, and the phenomenon of early marriage is gaining ground, this is contradicted with the economic and educational development, against the positive relationship between the two things, and possibly there are more complicated outside factors.

We also did a interrelation analysis between women's age at marriage and their childbearing situation. There are three groups in it, and they all showed a negative relationship. The correlation coefficient of women's age at marriage and birthrate is 0.47, that of women's age at marriage and total childbearing rate is 0.60, and that of women's age at marriage and multiple birthrate is 0.68. This analysis shows a definite relation between early marriage and high birthrate. Looking from the angle of reproduction, it means that early marriage will shorten the average generation interval and speed up the rate of reproduction. Thus, to control the population, we have to keep on advocating late marriage.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See "Zhongguo 1982 Nian Renkou Pucha 10 Percent Chouyang Ziliaoz De Zhuyao Shuzi" /the Major Figures of the 10 Percent Sampling Data of the 1982 Chinese Population Census/, compiled by the Population Census Bureau of the State Council and Department of Population Statistics of State Statistics Bureau, pp 400-401.
2. For the calculation method and formula see "Guanyu Renkou Fenxi Wenti" /With Regards to the Population Analysis/, p 72, Lecture Notes of Mr You Yunzhong of Department of Statistics, the United Nations, compiled by the Population Census Bureau of the State Council.
3. "Quanguo 1<sup>o</sup>/oo Renkou Shengyu Chouyang Diaocha Fenxi Zhuankan" /The Special Issue of the National One Thousandth Population Birthrate Sampling Survey and Analysis/, p 115.
4. Based on the data on Table 46 of "Zhongguo Renkou Wenti" /The Chinese Population Problem/, Chen Da, Tianjin People's Publishing House.
5. RENKOU YANJIU /POPULATION RESEARCH/, No 1, 1983, p 33.
6. English Newspaper LOOK JAPAN, 10 April 1983, p 24.
7. Calculated from the data of "1982 Population Yearbook" (English and French Edition), the United Nations, p 298.
8. See "Population Problem" English Edition, W. S. Tomson, p 93 (Table 30).
9. Cited from RENKOU YANJIU /POPULATION RESEARCH/, No 5, 1983, p 50.
10. World Bank Report: "Population Policy and Economic Development," 1974 Edition, p 14.
11. The calculation method see "Shehui Jingji Tongji Yuanli Dianshi Jiangzuo Xuexi Ziliaoz" /The Study Material for the Television Course of Principle of Statistics of Social Economics/ Department of Personal Education, State Statistics Bureau, Vol 2, pp 152-159. The women's average age at marriage is in Table 1 in the Appendix, and the urban population ratio is from the collective data from the population census.
12. See 1983 "Zhongguo Tongji Nianjian" /Chinese Statistics Yearbook/, pp 21 and 503.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## CHINA DAILY COMMENTS ON NEW LITERARY MAGAZINE

HK130709 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 13 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Chen Mingqiang and Li Li]

[Text] A new literary magazine, CHINA, has made its debut in Beijing early this year. One of the joint chief editors, Ding Ling, is a well-known writer who once was chief editor of THE PLOUGH, official publication of the Left-Wing Writers' Union.

CHINA differs from the present state-run magazines, because it is run by private people and only partly funded by the state. The editorial department assumes sole responsibility for its profits or losses.

Ba Jin, 81, president of the China Writers' Association, wrote a letter to Ding Ling last September praising her courage in launching a publication that will encourage new ideas and writing styles.

The tone of the magazine is self-confident. An editorial in the first issue says, "Whether a work is good or bad will be judged by people and by history. Good works will be handed down, and others will disappear of their own accord."

The first issue of the magazine is 256 pages and includes short novels, poems, features and pieces on the theory of literature and art.

One story by Ding Ling, called "Smart Youth," tells a true story about a successful, 24-year-old manager of a computer equipment company. The manager, Wang Xiaohui, used to be an ordinary worker in a college-run factory. However, he resigns his job with its steady income to help start up a small neighbourhood computer factory and turns it into a highly profitable business.

Another story, Tao Zheng's "Nursemaid," observes contemporary life in Beijing through the eyes of a village girl from southern China.

Wang Jiabin's "Celestial Burial" tells a story of a Tibetan who is despised all his life by his villagers and even by his own son because of his profession, which traditionally involves dismembering corpses.

A poem in the same issue, written by Shu Ting, represents the controversial "Misty" school of poetry. Although the poem is short, its appearance is regarded as a breakthrough for this new style of poetry.

Some literary essays attempt to integrate traditional experiences with new ideas.

Ding Ling has long been an influential Chinese writer. Her novel, "The Sun Shines Over the Sangan River," won second prize in the Stalin Literature Awards in 1951 and has been translated into a dozen foreign languages. Today she is vice-president of the China Writers' Association.

Another joint chief editor is Shu Qun, 72, also a veteran writer and now an adviser to the Writers' Association. He has cooperated several times with Ding in his career as an editor in the past.

According to Ding and Shu, their purpose in starting the new magazine is to break the literary "iron pot" and to enable creativity to flourish.

The magazine has been eagerly received by old middle-aged and young writers and readers from many parts of China. They have sent in numerous articles and financial contributions.

CSO: 4000/189

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PUBLISHING MEETING APPROVES DECENTRALIZATION PLAN

OW111206 Beijing XINHUA in English 1131 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--The national publishers' conference approved plans here today to expand and decentralize the book trade. Yearly book publication will increase to 60,000 titles (nine billion copies) in 1990, compared to last year's 40,000 titles and 6.2 billion copies.

Plans for magazines are 5,000 titles and 3.2 billion copies--three per person--and for newspapers 1,500 titles and 32 billion copies--one for every six people.

Publication Administration Bureau Chief Bian Chunguang's 3 April proposals stressed quality improvement, particularly in books on economics and technology to help modernization, but also in classics, social and natural sciences and reference works.

He also asked for adequate emphasis on ancient books, children's books and works in minority languages.

To these ends, the conference decided to reform the publication and distribution network and train printers in modern technology. One hundred and sixty printing houses will be technologically upgraded.

The Shanghai printing school will have 1,000 students in 1990, and the Beijing Printing College now being built will have 1,200. More printing schools and university departments will open.

Publishing and printing will become independent businesses generally separate from distribution, and publishers will commission research for scientific works.

The general XINHUA bookstore's wholesaling monopoly will be abolished in favor of provincial and city wholesale and retail book trade centers.

The state will also encourage collective and rural family wholesale and mail-order firms.

By 1990, 127,000 wholesale firms are planned, one per 11,000 people.

CSO: 4000/189

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARTISTS TO RECEIVE MORE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE JOBS

OW121752 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 12 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--Actors, screenwriters and directors will be allowed to sign contracts and work for any film studio or cultural unit of their choosing, Chinese Minister of Culture Zhu Muzhi announced here today. Addressing a national conference on the cultural work now in progress, the Chinese minister said that this would be first carried out on a trial basis in some cultural organizations.

Teachers, research workers, translators and editors working in cultural units would also be given the right to contract for their employment.

Zhu suggested that professional organizations like home of artists and home of actors be set up to aid artists in finding employment. They could also provide some financial aid for unemployed cultural workers.

Zhu said the reforms would give actors, artists and writers greater decision-making power over their own future and would help guarantee the freedom of creation.

The cultural minister stressed that the state would continue to play a leading ideological and political role in cultural affairs. Policies and plans would be worked out and regulations set forth for individuals and collectives in cultural undertakings.

The principle of distribution according to work would be strictly carried out within artistic units and competition between units promoted.

The reform in the art and cultural organizations was designed to bring into full play the enthusiasm and wisdom of artists to serve the people and socialism, the minister said.

CSO: 4000/189

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

TITLES FOR REVOLUTIONARY MEMOIRS--Kunming, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--Two memoirs of the revolution, entitled "Fight Among Rivals for the Throne [Zhong Yuan Zhu Lu 0022 0626 6632 7773]" and "The Towering Taihang Mountain [Wei Wei Tai Hang 1550 1550 1132 5887]," were recently published by the Yunan People's Publishing House. Xu Xiangqian and Yang Shangkun wrote the titles for the two books respectively. "The Towering Taihang Mountain," which recounts the deeds of the No 129 division of the Eighth Route Army in fighting against enemies successively on the Taihangshan during the war of resistance against Japan, has a total of 35 articles, including Comrade Liu Bocheng's "When We Were on the Taihangshan," Comrade Chen Geng's "Diary of a Surprise Attack on Enemies at the Changle Village," Comrade Song Renqiong's "Arduous Guerrilla Warfare on the Jinan Pingyuan," Comrade Bo Yibo's "Always Remember This Heroic Chapter," and Comrade Yang Xianzhen's "On the December Coup in Shanxi." "Fight Among Rivals for the Throne" is an authentic record of the combat history of a troop under the Jianghan Military District, which was led by Comrade Li Xiannian, and the Zhongyuan Independent Brigade. The author, Comrade Zhang Caiqian, was one of the commanders of the troop. Based on his personal experience, he vividly reproduces in the book how the troop, in cooperation with the armies led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, fought against enemies and swept through the areas around Changjiang, Huaihe, Huanghe, and Hanjiang. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0008 GMT 12 Apr 85]

WREATHS FOR DEAD COMRADE--Beijing, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--Comrade Song Yun, member of the Third CPPCC National Committee and former party committee secretary of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Library, died of cancer in Beijing on 3 April 1985 after failing to respond to medical treatment. He was 75. A ceremony to pay last homage to his remains was held this afternoon in the auditorium of the Babaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries. Wreaths were sent by Wang Zhen, Fang Yi, Song Renqiong, Deng Liqun, Wang Heshou, and Fei Xiaotong. Song Renqiong, Fei Xiaotong, Lu Jiaxi, and Yu Wen along with over 300 people from the departments concerned attended the ceremony. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1310 GMT 12 Apr 85]

7 May 1985

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR CPPCC MEMBER--Beijing, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--A memorial service for Lin Baoluo, member of the CPPCC National Committee and former adviser to the Scientific and Technological Information Office of the Beijing Municipal Public Health Bureau, was held today in Beijing.

Wreaths were sent by leading comrades; namely, Peng Zhen, Liu Lantao, Xu Deheng, Hu Xiang, and Cui Yueli. Lin Baoluo graduated from Tokyo Imperial University's Medical Department in 1928 and returned home in 1930. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1135 GMT 12 Apr 85]

OVERSEAS JOINT VENTURES--Beijing, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--China had 110 joint ventures or totally-owned companies abroad at the end of 1984, today's INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS reported. These are engaged in running restaurants, exploring for natural resources, processing goods, construction, handling imports and exports for China, transport, insurance and consulting. They are located in 30 countries including Australia, Brazil, Britain, Cameroon, France, Japan, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Thailand and the United States as well as in Hong Kong and Macao. Since 1983, China has sent delegations to more than 20 countries to investigate the possibilities of fishing. Agreements have been signed with Sri Lanka and Senegal and one has been initialed with the United States. China has purchased a forest zone with timber reserves estimated at half a million cubic meters from the United States. It has also set up a plywood plant jointly with Brazil. A Sino-Australian feasibility study on exploring for iron ore is under way in Australia. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1031 GMT 15 Apr 85]

FORMER KMT OFFICIAL CLEARED--Guangdong--The People's Court of Huizhou Municipality has recently pronounced that the late Lin Zhenxiong, ex-chief of the education department of Huangpu Military Academy and ex-lieutenant general of Kuomintang Army, was wrongly imprisoned and rescinded three indictments against him. Zhong Jinshui, press secretary of the city, told CHINA DAILY that a judge handed the court verdict to Lin's son and daughter who lodged an appeal to the court several months ago. Lin, born in 1888, studied in Japan in the 1930s. Before 1936, he was a member of the Preparatory Committee of Huangpu Military Academy, director of the administrative department and chief of the education department of the academy as well as lieutenant general of the Kuomintang Army. After he was dismissed from his posts in 1937, he lived in Huizhou. After liberation Lin was charged with being a "reactionary bureaucrat," "launching a vindictive counterattack" and "spreading rumours." He was put into prison in 1962 and died in 1964. Through a thorough investigation, Zhong said, the court found that all charges against Lin were false. [Text] [Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 12 Apr 85 p. 3]

CSO: 4000/189

EAST REGION

COMMENTARY ON OPPRESSIVE ATMOSPHERE IN ACADEMIC RESEARCH

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 85 p 1

[Article: "Break Through the Oppressive Atmosphere in the Area of Academic Research"]

[Text] The Chinese Writers Association's practice of speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big character posters to communicate the series of important directives on literary and art work by leading comrades of the Central Committee not only has comrades from the literary and art circles shouting for joy, but comrades from the theoretical circles also have had their enthusiasm aroused and have been greatly inspired!

"Clear winds blow away the storm, beautiful hills are in clear view." The party Central Committee has once again reaffirmed the seeking of truth from facts, the integration of theory and practice and all ideological lines the proceed from actual conditions. The resounding slogan of "free the mind from old ideas and take an individual road" strikes at the hearts of theoretical workers. A group of young theoretical workers has already gone into action. The recent "Series of Lectures on Philosophy and Reform" that was given by graduate students of Fudan University's philosophy department was a significant attempt at breaking through the oppressive atmosphere in the area of academic research. Their viewpoints are not necessarily comprehensive or mature, but their freeing of their minds from old ideas, their mettle in making breakthroughs from an advantageous position and their spirit of academic exploration that is determined to blaze new trails is highly commendable. They are not "metaphysicians" who speak about nothing but recruits to the theoretical ranks who are down to earth, who regard reform as their duty, whose mission is national development and who make great efforts in seeking truth. Their lectures have drawn applause, won people's hearts and made people happy.

Creative freedom is needed for literary and artistic creations to flourish. A similar principle is that academic freedom is also needed to enliven the academic atmosphere. For a long time theoretical and academic circles were severely harmed by the ideological constraints of the "left." Authority was idolized, theory became doctrinaire and ideology was formed into patterns,

so much so that common theoretical and academic divergences became "class conflicts" and "political struggles" and many theoretical workers were treated unfairly. Inspired by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the vast number of theoretical workers broke the fetters of the "left," adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts, made efforts to think independently and made their own important contributions to developing Marxist theory, thus enlivening the atmosphere for academic research and discussion and promoting the four modernizations construction. Nevertheless, it can be said without reticence that the effects and pernicious influence of the "left" have not yet been fully eliminated. In recent years the atmosphere in Shanghai's theoretical and academic circles has been rather oppressive. It should be said that the atmosphere for normal, free academic probing is still insufficient, and it still cannot be said that a flourishing situation of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has truly come about. Theoretical workers and practical workers are dissatisfied with this type of situation. Everyone hopes that the close ranks and abundance of qualified personnel in Shanghai's theoretical circles will no longer be caught in an oppressive atmosphere, but rather that in the midst of reform they will enliven the atmosphere for academic research and promote the development of theory.

Time is moving forward, so theory must develop. Our slogan should be: theory must be closely integrated with practice. Advocating academic freedom is for the sake of adhering even better to the Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods in studying new situations, resolving new problems and summarizing new experiences. We should not rigidly adhere to revolution being the great teacher of individual words and expressions or some specific theses, and we also cannot require that the writings of Marx and Lenin resolve all of the problems that we are now confronted with. If we use some of the theses from the writing of Marx and Lenin to frame and enrich real life, and if we do not enrich and develop Marxism through practice and free academic research and discussion, then we will be unworthy of the honored title of the heirs of Marxism. At present, all trades and professions are exchanging views on and taking part in reform. Advocating academic freedom, breaking through the oppressive atmosphere in the area of academic research and truly and thoroughly liberating theoretical work from the dogmatic fetters of the "left" should be one important task in the reform of theoretical work. We believe that this city's vast number of theoretical workers can indeed learn from the pioneering spirit of the young path-breakers in philosophy, muster their courage and make their own contributions to the making of new breakthroughs in theoretical work.

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EAST REGION

UNCHANGING NATURE OF PARTY POLICY STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Li Peihua [2621 1014 5478] et al.: "Dialectical Understanding of the Unchanging Nature of the Policy of Our Party"]

[Text] In response to the thinking on the part of some people within and without the country who are afraid of a change in our policy some day, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly pointed out: "Once our path is correct, our policy will not change." This fact that our policy is not going to change is determined by the principal contradiction in our society. After the fundamental completion of our socialist transformation, the principal contradiction our country must solve is the contradiction between the increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of our social productive forces. On the basis of this contradiction, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee proposed to shift the focus of the work of our party and state to socialist modernization and construction centered on economic construction. The 12 Party Congress put forward the general tasks and strategic objectives and basic principles and policies of the party at the present stage; the 3d Plenary Session of the 12 party Central Committee again made the decision on carrying out reform in our economic structure; all of these are prescribed and constrained by the principal contradiction of our society. The socialist society is a rather long historical period; the principal contradiction in a socialist society will run through the entire historical period; it is of a rather stable nature. Hence, the fundamental principles and policies formulated for the solution of this principal contradiction are also of a long-range and stable nature and will not be subject to unpredictable changes. Of course, we must also see that in the entire process of building our socialism, we are bound to pass through different stages of development, and each stage is also going to have different tasks; therefore the party's principles and policies must also continue to improve along with the development of our practice; on certain components and approaches there are likely to be certain changes. Such changes can only make our policies in greater accord with reality and the interests of the people. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said: "Our policy will not change. If it ever does, it will become only better."

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EAST REGION

NEW ATTEMPT IN DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Chen Guang [2525 0342] and Xiong Neng [3574 5174]: "Full Attendance at Fudan's 'Series of Lectures on Philosophy and Reform; New Attempt in the Development of Marxist Philosophy; Altogether, 15 Lectures Given Over a Period of 1 Month in an Atmosphere of Academic Freedom"]

[Text] Graduate students in the philosophy department of Fudan University recently held a notable "series of lectures on philosophy and reform." Altogether, 15 lectures were given to packed crowds over a period of 1 month. Those listening to the lectures were generally so crowded together that no one could get in or out. Laughter and applause frequently erupted, shaking the entire education building. Frequently, a lecturer was unable to stop even though he wanted to because members of the audience would cluster around the speaker, putting forth questions, asking for answers, discussing, debating.... When it was past the time for the lights to be turned off there were still up to 100 students out in the halls of the education building who for a long time did not want to leave. On the day that a lecture was to be given people would scramble to spread the news, and by that afternoon all of the audience seats would be taken. Among the many people who attended the lectures were not only teachers and students of Fudan University but also teachers, students, reporters, working personnel and government functionaries from outside the university who attended out of admiration. After a few of the women workers at the post office at the entrance to Fudan University got off from work and returned home to take care of household matters, they thought nothing of hurriedly driving from the city proper to attend the lecturers. Such a spectacular event as this is the only one of its kind that has been held at Fudan University in recent years. Uninteresting, insipid and abstruse philosophy is after all quite fascinating! An associate professor in the Marxist-Leninist teaching and research section of Fudan University was pressed against a window for more than 2 hours. After listening to a lecture from beginning to end he said to the lecturer with feeling: "It seems that it's not that people don't attend philosophy lectures. The key is that their topics must be changed."

This series of lectures were organized, and lectures were given by 15 doctoral and master's degree candidates in the philosophy department who

graduated in 1981 and 1982. The guiding ideology for the lectures was: free the mind from old ideas, be bold in making innovations, break through the oppressive atmosphere in theoretical circles, unite with the practice of China's four modernizations and make new attempts in the development of Marxist philosophy.

### Marxism Inspires People To Blaze New Trails

How to regard Marxism was a central proposition of this series of lectures. In a lecture entitled "Marx and the Modern World" student Ni Peimin [0242 1014 3046] stated that Marxism is the theoretical foundation and guiding ideology of our party. Of this there is no doubt. Yet Marxism itself is a product of history and the positive result of study. It should also be the subject of study and not merely an object to be explained. Speaking of our existing philosophical system, it basically is copied from the Soviet Union of the 1950's. For 35 years it has persistently been systematized, and many features of it have become doctrinaire and rigid, so much so that they have become "deified." This in itself is a deviation from Marxism. We cannot ignore the fact that among Marxist theories there surely are specific conclusions that have already become obsolete and some realms that are empty. Development is the only absolute thing that Marxist dialectics acknowledges. Engels stated that "any new advancement will inevitably be shown as a blasphemy against some sacred object," yet Marxism encourages people to be bold in blazing new trails and to dare to suspect authority. Any true authority does not rely on enslaving the other side in order to establish and maintain itself. To oppose the blazing of new trails and to suppress academic freedom is not only a type of ignorance but also a huge waste of social capabilities and is totally out of harmony with the fighting styles of the revolution that guided Marx,

Engels and Lenin.

### Evaluation of Modern Philosophical Schools of Thought Must Be Succinct and Objective

The content of the series of lectures touched upon the large number of foreign philosophical schools of thought and figures, such as Kant, Nietzsche, Freud, Toynbee, existentialism, the philosophy of science, etc. While introducing and evaluating these schools of thought and these figures, the lecturers strove to be succinct and objective, and they neither indiscriminately copied nor totally repudiated nor entirely criticized. This strict style of study is also one of the reasons why the lectures were well received. While analyzing the objective target of why existentialism can have such a particular effect on young people, student Li Guangcheng [2621 0342 4453] candidly pointed out that this is because there was a period of time when the philosophy in our textbooks was not at all concerned with the problems of real people, and this lack of concern allowed existentialism to gain an "exclave." Our philosophy should pay attention to studying people's problems. Doctoral candidate Xie Xialing [6200 6667 7881] related the rational factors in Toynbee's philosophy of history and analyzed our nation's modern and contemporary history and from a new angle

inspired his schoolmates to look closely at history and reality. In a lecture entitled "Freud and Modern Society," student Cai Liming [5591 7812 2494] critically, demonstratively and analytically introduced and evaluated Freud's theories and their vast influence on modern society as well as expounded on some personal views. Many in the audience stated that the more it was forbidden in the past to discuss Freud, the more of a mystery he became. We now know that Freud too was a real person who equally had shortcomings and made contributions. Some schoolmates pointed out in their lectures that we have neglected some of the realism and categories in Western philosophical schools of thought, such as humanism, the subconscious, will, the philosophy of language, etc. Lessons can be drawn from some of them, and that which is rational should be assimilated.

#### Reform Needs Philosophy; Philosophy Needs Reform

The most prominent characteristic of this series of lectures was the intensity of the genuine feelings. The entire series of lectures had four main topics: man, science, history and actuality. Among the actualities were starting points and end results. One of the organizers stated that "at present the greatest reality is reform. Whatever we talk about is done so in the hope of leading everyone to the consideration of reform. This lecture is to bring attention to reform and to change the concepts of ideology and value in order to arouse the schoolmates' sense of responsibility toward society." While lecturing on the question of "Diversification and the Theory of the Arbitrary," doctoral candidate Chen Kuide [7115 1145 1795] proceeded by citing the new positive results of modern natural science, and by means of studying and observing the theory of science, social and historical development, especially the history of the rise and fall of mankind and civilization, demonstrated that diversification is the foundation for further development and that the theory of the arbitrary is a dogmatic, ignorant philosophical foundation. He vehemently stated that we are now in an era of great change and that along with breakthroughs made in "letting a 100 schools of thought contend" the Chinese nation is also at a rejuvenated and flourishing point in its history. Wu Muren [0702 3664 0086] believes that any cognitive action takes as a prerequisite some untested assumptions and that exposing the wantonness of these assumptions in order to arrive at a position of creativity and freedom is the most important thing that philosophy shows us. Applying this philosophical method to the consideration of reform is advantageous to breaking through outdated traditional ideas and ideological molds, and this makes clear the fact that our choices are varied. In a lecture entitled "Economic Reform and the Mission of Philosophy" student Yu Wujin [0205 0710 6855] talked about how economic reform has posed a series of important philosophical questions, among which the question of truth is particularly important. Discussions on the theory of practice being the only criteria for judging truth have played a huge role in giving impetus to the freeing of the mind from old ideas. Yet in these discussions, thorough consideration of and a probe into the nature of truth have not yet been carried out. If minds are to be further freed from old ideas and if academic freedom is to be achieved under new historical conditions, then it is essential that an even more thorough consideration of truth be carried

out. Is truth solitary? Does it exist in one school of thought or in all schools of thought? Aside from the mutual apposition and rejection of truth versus falsehood, are they one aspect of permeating and interlinking with each other? If these rather profound problems are not resolved, it will be difficult to form the flourishing image of 100 contending schools of thought, and reform will consequently lack the proper theoretical vitality. Reform needs philosophy! Philosophy needs reform!

#### It Is Only the Beginning

When the last lecture concluded 1 month and 10 days later the entire hall burst into prolonged, enthusiastic applause. Many in the audience could not restrain themselves, and they mounted the platform to express their heartfelt thanks. The representatives of the lecturers bid the audience a rousing farewell. There was hearty singing throughout the hall, and the series of lectures concluded amidst the magnificent national anthem. Yet the atmosphere for exploring philosophical theories and discussing academic freedom that was engendered by this series of lectures has given people valuable inspiration and enlightenment. We believe that it is only the beginning.

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EAST REGION

CORRECTION OF NEW UNHEALTHY TRENDS URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Chen Hongru [7115 7703 0320]: "Strengthen Party Discipline, Correct New Unhealthy Trends"]

[Text] Some of our party members, especially party-member cadres, lack the principle of party character, ignore their organization, disregard their party discipline and laws of the state, refrain from applying edicts on hand and relent on enjoiners ordered: this is an important reason for the emergence of unhealthy trends under the new situation. Hence, deepening implementation of education on party character, party discipline and party workstyle, strengthening party discipline, and correcting these new unhealthy trends have already become a major problem which must be well solved today.

Party discipline is the norm which party organizations at all levels and all our party members must abide by. It is a powerful guarantee for implementing our party line, principles and policies and a fundamental condition for our party cause to triumph. Marx said: "It is absolutely necessary to maintain party discipline, otherwise nothing can succeed" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 29, p 413). Strict organizational discipline and maintenance of a high degree of consistency ideologically, politically and behavior-wise are important contents of the principle of party character for a proletarian political party. Abiding by party discipline is a reflection of a party member cultivated in party character. Once discipline is strengthened, no revolution will fail to succeed. This is an important historical experience of our party. Our party has always paid attention to strengthening its discipline; it has incorporated it in the Party Constitution as an important standard of the party. Upon the founding of our state, our party became the party in power leading the national regime; the party's activities have an extremely important relationship with the interests and gains of the broad masses; how party discipline functions would affect the overall situation of the work of the party and state. Therefore, the Party Constitution provides that Communists must not only abide by the discipline of their party organization but also abide by the laws and edicts of the state. This way, abiding by the laws of the state becomes thus also prescribed as part of the party discipline. During the new historical era, only when party organizations at all levels and all comrades of the party have really understood the important role played by party discipline in the cause of our

socialist cause and thereby consciously maintain and abide by such party discipline can they maintain consistency politically with the party central committee and obey the uniform command of the party central committee, enable our party to become a highly centralized, solid and powerful fighting entity, develop fully the party's core leadership role, and thereby guarantee the triumphant realization of the party's general tasks and overall objectives in the new era and build our country into a civilized, wealthy and strong, and democratic socialist state. Hence, we must unite our party discipline with the fundamental interests of the party and the people.

Opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy is an important strategic decision made by our party in emancipating our thinking and breaking through the ideological shackles of the "Left;" practice has proved that it is entirely correct. Some comrades put the party's opening and "enlivening" policies in opposition to party discipline and the rectification of our party workstyle. They also take the party's organizational principles and party discipline as rules and regulations shackling the party's hands and feet and hence demanding their "loosening." Obviously, this is the manifestation of a lack of understanding of the fundamental principles of the Marxist theory, a lack of common knowledge about the party and its party character principle. The new Party Constitution passed by the 12th Party Congress provides clear prescriptions on the party's organizational principles, party discipline as well as basic requirements of all Communists. Every one of us Communists must follow the provisions of the new Party Constitution by strengthening his training in party character. The implementation of the party's policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy internally not only does not exclude the party's organizational discipline but precisely requires the party's organizational discipline as their guarantee. Just as the decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee pointed out: "The more we enliven our economy, enliven our enterprises, the more we need to pay attention to resisting the erosion by capitalist ideas and the more we need to pay attention to overcoming that corrupt phenomenon of plotting for private gains by taking advantage of our office and power, and overcome all conduct that might seriously damage the interests of the state and our consumers, the more we need to strengthen the building of our party workstyle and party discipline and maintaining and perfecting healthy, correct political life within the party." Recently, Comrade Chen Yun also clearly pointed out: there is no question of "loosening" in the case of our party character principle and party discipline; without a good party workstyle, no reform can be effectively carried out. For the Communist Party, whether it was during its underground days or its days in power, it must adhere to party discipline at all time.

In carrying out the reform in our economic structure, we need especially to abide by party discipline and rectify our party workstyle. Age-old malpractices in our economic structure are numerous; we must through reform establish a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics and full of vitality and vigor so as to promote the development of our productive forces. This can be done only according to the principle of the unity of the fundamental principles of Marxism and the reality of China by accumulating experience through practice and thereby blaze a path ahead. To do so requires our party organizations and party members at all levels to abide by

party discipline and make uniform deployments according to the uniform plans of the party Central Committee and the State Council and make firm strides ahead in a down-to-earth manner. On major questions of an overall nature relating to this reform, autonomous policy advocacy and conduct are definitely not allowed. Yet, some of our comrades, including certain party-member cadres, have departed from the party character principle and violated the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly in thinking about their problems and running their operations. They only consider the interests of their local parts, small groups and individuals but not the overall interests of the party, the state and the people; they pay attention only to the present and not to long-range prospects; they only stress the need to continue to improve things but not the development of our current production or the feasibility in terms of the material and financial resources of our state; they seek loopholes in our reform programs, think about ways of taking advantage of the state, and resort to unhealthy practices of fattening their own pockets at the expense of the public. After the party Central Committee and the State Council have issued a series of prescriptions and directives, some people still remain nonchalant and adopt the erroneous attitude of "those above may have a policy, but we below always have something to counter it," so that they would refrain from executing any command on hand or enforcing any rejoinder ordered. Such unhealthy practices lacking party character and in violation of our party discipline have made it possible for the new devious trends which have emerged under the new situation to continue to spread and multiply in certain localities and units and bring serious obstacles to socialist modernization and construction and reform in our economic structure. In the face of such a situation, strengthening our party discipline and rectifying our party workstyle have thus become even more urgent and important. On this, we should have sufficient understanding.

Our party discipline is a self-conscious discipline and also an iron-clad discipline. Within the party there can be no privileged member who is permitted not to accept supervision by the masses within or without the party or not to abide by our party discipline. To maintain our party discipline depends mainly on the vast ranks of our party members showing unlimited loyalty toward the cause of the party and the people and their spirit of dedication in not hesitating to make individual sacrifices, thus developing a high sense of responsibility and conscientiousness toward party discipline. In the meantime, we must also demonstrate the coercive and restrictive power of our party discipline. With respect to party members who violate party discipline, we should follow the spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient by meting out criticism and education, up to disciplinary punishment, according to the nature of the mistakes and the seriousness of the matter in question so as to maintain the solemnity of our party discipline. All party members, especially party-member cadres, should strengthen our training in party character and strictly abide by our party discipline. Organizations of our party at all levels should seriously shoulder the responsibility of maintaining our party discipline and resolutely find out and punish those unhealthy practices which are truly of an evil nature and whose consequences are serious and damaging to our reform, and mete out pertinent penalties against the people in question according to our party discipline and laws of the state. So long as the whole party obeys the party Central Committee,

undertakes to execute whatever command on hand and enforces whatever rejoinder ordered, the unhealthy trends under the new situation are bound to be corrected and the four modernizations program and reform of our economic structure are surely to attain their expected goals.

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EAST REGION

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM NOTED

Shanghai HUADONG SHIFANDAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUIKEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 1, 28 Feb 85 pp 1-4

[Article by Yin Hao [3009 3185]: "Significant Developments in Scientific Socialism"]

[Text] What is socialism? For a long time, we have experienced a tendency of simplification and dogmatization on this question, and, as a result, have formed in our understanding certain fixed notions which do not tally with real situations and thereby seriously hampered the vigorous development of the theory and practice of socialism. The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Reform of the Economic Structure" passed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee has, with the Marxist scientific spirit and a tremendous theoretical courage, broken through these fixed notions and scientifically answered a series of major theoretical and practical problems raised in our socialist construction and thereby greatly enriched and developed the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Historical materialism holds that human society is a live, organic body; it is a combination of various relationships. Since a socialist society is a form of society, it must also be a combination of various relationships. Naturally, there is a difference in each different society as to how to recognize and handle these various relationships, and, on the matter of guiding ideologies and fundamental principles, the approaches involved might prove to be in sharp opposition to each other. With respect to these various relationships in a socialist society, we should and must observe, analyze and handle them with the principles of scientific socialism in order to make this socialist society advance consistently along the correct direction; there cannot be the slightest ambiguity or wavering on this. The question lies in how we should correctly understand and apply the principles of scientific socialism in handling the various relationships, especially how to understand and handle the various relationships in the reform of our economic structure. On this question, which has failed to get well solved for a long time, we have first of all, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, brought about an important breakthrough in the countryside; the "Resolution" by the party central committee this time is going to bring about

even a greater breakthrough in the reform of our cities and the entire economic structure. While analyzing and handling the various relationships in the reform of our economic structure, the "Resolution" everywhere pays attention to drawing a clear boundary both with capitalism and with the ossified [0304 0553 4104] socialist model which does not suit China's national conditions. What it seeks to establish is a socialism with Chinese characteristics full of vitality and vigor. This shows that the understanding of socialism by our party has reached a new level and new height.

Then, how does the "Resolution" actually proceed to understand and handle the various relationships in the reform of our economic structure with the principles of scientific socialism? What significant developments have there been in the theory of socialism? These are what we should seriously learn and study.

The relationships involved in the reform of our socialist economic structure are multifarious and complicated. The relationships which require correct understanding and handling as broached in the "Resolution," in summary, include the following:

1. The relationship between the basic system and concrete system of socialism.
2. The relationship between diverse economic forms and management styles.
3. The relationship between ownership and management rights of enterprises under the ownership of the whole people.
4. The relationship between the planned economy of socialism, and commodity economy and the laws of value.
5. The relationship between socialist production and consumption.
6. The relationship between letting a part of people become well-to-do first and letting all become well-to-do at the same time.
7. The relationship between the functions of the socialist state in managing its economy and the enterprises' own operation and management rights.
8. The relationship between socialist enterprises.
9. The relationship between the practice of director (manager) responsibility system and the practice of democratic management system within a socialist enterprise.
10. The relationship between respect for knowledge and talent, and training of socialist economic management cadres and technical cadres.
11. The relationship between the reform of our economic structure and people's material and spiritual life, and ways of life.
12. The relationship between "two kinds of resources," "two markets," and "two sets of skills."

All the above relationships are very important, but they are not parallel; instead, they are structured and closely linked together, making up a complete entity in the reform of our economic structure. In this complete entity, the 1st relationship is the fundamental question in our structural reform; it touches on the guiding ideology of reform; the 2d through the 6th relationships are the concrete economic systems in our structural reform; they touch on the 4 links of production, distribution, exchange and consumption; the 7th through the 11th relationships are the concrete political systems in our structural reform, they touch on the various aspects of upper structure such as the separation of administration from enterprise, competition between enterprises, our ways of life and spiritual state; the 12th relationship is the external relationship in our structural reform; it touches on questions of economic and technical exchange with the outside world and foreign trade. In its understanding and handling of these relationships, the "Resolution" is consistently threaded together by a spirit of seeking truth from facts and both adheres to the socialist orientation and proceeds from China's actual conditions by putting forward many new concepts, new theories, new viewpoints, and new policies. Concretely speaking, these are manifested in the following aspects:

#### I. There Has Been a Deepening of Understanding as to the Relationship Between The Basic System and Concrete System of Socialism

The essential characteristics of a socialist society are the elimination of exploitation, the implementation of public ownership of the means of production and distribution to each according to his work, plus planned economy. These are the basic viewpoints and fundamental principles of scientific socialism and also the fundamental indicators by which it is distinguished from capitalism. But how to perceive and apply these principles to the understanding and handling of the various relationships in socialist economic construction has during a rather long period of time exhibited a tendency of simplification and dogmatization. This means that people often take an economic mode which took shape under given historical conditions as a sacred and unalterable thing, and thereby take any reform which touches such a mode as unorthodox; that is, they confuse the qualitative prescription of socialism in principle (namely the basic system of socialism) with its concrete mode (namely, a concrete system), thinking that only by running things according to a certain fixed mode can be considered as working on socialism; otherwise, it would be deviating from the socialist orientation. Because of this traditional conception, not a few dislocations have resulted in our socialist practice which hampered the development of the undertakings of our socialist construction.

The "Resolution" by the party Central Committee this time has provided clear prescriptions on this fundamental question, pointing out that "In instituting the reform of our economic structure, we are reforming the links and aspects of our production relations and the series of interrelations in the upper structure which is not adapted to the development of our productive forces under the premise of adhering to our socialist system. This kind of reform is carried out under the leadership of the party and government in a planned, step-by-step, orderly manner; it is socialism perfecting and developing itself." That is to say, during the reform of our economic structure, the

socialist principle cannot be negated, and the basic system of socialism must be adhered to; this is the premise. But the economic structure itself is a concrete system in which we must carry out continuous reform according to vivid realities. In doing so, not only would we avoid shaking the foundation of socialism itself or changing the socialist orientation but, on the contrary, also help consolidate even further the socialist edifice and give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system.

Practice of socialism tells us, among the various systems of a socialist state, the basic system and the concrete system are both related and different from each other. The basic system is the essential indicator of socialism; negating it would negate socialism. Although the concrete system, generally speaking, must in the final analysis reflect the nature and requirement of the basic system, in a given period of time, because people's common knowledge "is often subject to many limitations, e. g., not only often the limitation of scientific conditions and technical conditions, but also the limitation of the development of the objective process and the extent of its manifestation" ("The Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 282). Hence, concrete systems are often not necessarily correct or perfect, and among them there still exist not a few defects and shortcomings; this makes it not only impossible for them to reflect the nature and requirement of the basic system but also hamper the development of the superiority of the basic system of socialism. For this reason, we cannot take the defects and shortcomings of concrete systems as a lack of superiority on the part of the basic system of socialism, and still less derive from here the erroneous conclusion of negating the basic system of socialism. Meanwhile, nor can we deny, on account of the superiority of the basic system of socialism, the problems which exist in, or come from, the concrete systems and negate the need for concrete systems to continue to perfect and develop itself. The correct attitude should be one of insisting on the basic system of socialism on the one hand and actively and steadily reforming those concrete systems which are not adapted to the development of our productive forces and not beneficial to the interests of the people. This way, we would be both adhering to the socialist orientation and enabling the superiority of socialism to develop further and further.

Engels pointed out: "A socialist society is not something which, once shaped, cannot be changed but should be, like any other social system, regarded as a regularly changing and reforming society" ("The Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 37, p 443). The "Resolution" bases itself precisely on the principle of Marxism concerning the need for a socialist society to continue to reform itself, proceeds from socialist practice, and correctly explains the relationship between the basic system and concrete system of socialism and thereby clarifies the muddy notion of people who confuse the two or put them in opposition to each other on this question, deepens our scientific understanding of socialism, and thus fundamentally points out the direction for the reform of our economic structure.

## II. A Misunderstanding of the Various Economic Forms and Distribution Relationships of Socialism and Other Aspects Has Been Corrected

In the process of establishing their scientific socialism, Marx and Engels shaped many important ideas and theories. In their socialist practice in the

Soviet Union, Lenin and Stalin put forward a series of new, important viewpoints and promoted the development of the theory of scientific socialism. Whether or not one can completely and accurately understand these ideas and theories of Marxism-Leninism and unite them with each country's own concrete situation is a question relating to the rise and fall of the cause of our socialist construction. Because of the influence of the "Leftist" tide in the past, we often perceived the relevant theories of scientific socialism from the "Left," and guided practice from such "Leftist" perception, while our erroneous perception, in turn, was deepened by our erroneous practice; such a repeated vicious circle caused people's thinking to become more and more confused and led our socialist practice further and further astray. The "Resolution" this time, following our attempt to return to order from disorder ideologically and theoretically since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, has served to correct certain important questions which had been misunderstood in the past, and, correspondingly, provide clearer theoretical exposition and policy prescription.

For instance, on the important question of how to understand and handle the relationships between various economic forms, the "Resolution" points out that under the premise of our state-run economy remaining dominant, we must "adhere to the common development of diverse economic forms and management styles," and it emphasizes that this "is our long-range policy, a requirement for the advance of socialism, and definitely not a retreat to the New Democratic economy in the early days after the founding of our state when our socialist public ownership had not yet achieved dominance in the cities and in the countryside; it will never shake, but only benefit, the consolidation of our socialist system." In the past, after the completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production, we never correctly understood and handled well this question, taking the socialist economy as purely and quintessentially an economy of public ownership apart from which existence of no other economic form could be allowed; as for individual economies, we even took them as "a tail of capitalism" and took as our theoretical basis Lenin's dictum that "small production produces a great deal of capitalism every day and every hour." This was purely an absolutized understanding for our own purpose. In reality, this dictum on Lenin's part did not generalize from any purely theoretical angle but, rather, spoke in response to the reality then prevailing in Russia; it meant the small production after the October Revolution and before the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, and meant mainly also that part which engaged in speculative activities.

For this reason, we should always make a concrete analysis with regard to the question of small production and the question of diverse economic forms. They were different before and after the socialist transformation, the historical conditions and causes for their existence were different, and their concrete ingredients and the status and roles of the various economic elements within them were different. At the present stage, our economic relationships and ownership structure are already different from those of the early days after the founding of our state. Among the diverse economic forms, the economies of ownership by the whole people and of collective ownership have already achieved absolute dominance in our national economy; while the individual economies of urban and rural laborers have gained definite

development, their ratio in our national economy remains very small, and, as the necessary and beneficial supplement to our socialist economy, they play an irreplaceable role in the development of our social production and in rendering convenience to the people's lives as well as in the expanding of employment opportunities for our laborers. Hence, the diverse economic forms today no longer harbor the negative factors of the past but more positive factors which are beneficial to the development of socialism, and therefore have socialist ingredients and belong to socialism. For this reason, we must both encourage the development of our collective economy and should also encourage the development of our individual economies.

Also, on the question of the distribution of consumptive supplies, the "Resolution" has served theoretically to correct the mistake of taking socialism as if it were just equalization. The "Resolution" points out that "the idea of egalitarianism is entirely incompatible with the scientific viewpoint of Marxism on socialism." The seemingly fair egalitarianism is in reality part of the fruits of labor of those who do more work being usurped by those who do less work; its essence is those who do more work not receiving more. Such an egalitarian idea and practice in violation the socialist principle of distribution is bound to hurt people's enthusiasm in labor and lead to an inflation of laziness in society; just as the "Resolution" points out: "The spread of egalitarianism is bound to destroy our social productive forces," and ultimately lead to general poverty in society. And poverty is not socialism. While correcting the misunderstanding of socialism as egalitarianism, the "Resolution" at the same time putting forward the goal of struggle to achieve common wealth, clearly prescribes the policy of encouraging part of people to get rich first, and theoretically expounds the dialectical relationship between part of people getting rich first and all getting rich together. Getting rich together is not, nor can be, the same as everyone being entirely equal; it is not, nor can be, the same as getting rich all at the same time. We must instead allow and encourage part of people to get rich first by relying on their own diligent labor and thereby spur on more and more people to march, wave after wave, toward wealth. These important viewpoints expounded by the "Resolution" have in theory enriched and developed the socialist principle of distribution to each according to his work; in practice, they are bound to prompt socialist countries and peoples to get rich even faster.

### III. A Breakthrough from the Traditional Conception of Relationships between the Planned Economy of Socialism and Commodity Economy, the Laws of Value, Etc., Has Been Scored

In exploring the future society, the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels were limited to putting forward a general contour and direction and to a study of the developmental tendency of the capitalist society while they repeatedly declared that they would not, and should not, provide any further diagnosis of the situation in the future society. Therefore, with regard to the new situations and new problems which emerge in our socialist practice we cannot have ready answers. The ""Resolution" on the part of the party Central Committee this time has, precisely under the new historical conditions, profoundly summed up our 30-odd years of historical experience, especially the theoretical generalizations made on the basis of the fresh experience in the

reform of our urban and rural economic structure during the past few years, and thereby added fresh scientific ingredients to scientific socialism. Among these, expositions on the planned economy of socialism and commodity economy, the laws of value, constituted a very great breakthrough.

Marx and Engels conceived that socialism should "proceed with production and distribution on the basis of plans formulated according to actual resources and the needs of the whole society, and the commodity economy will disappear along with the elimination of private ownership" (Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 10). Lenin also held that in a socialist society commodity economy would no longer exist. But in his revolutionary practice, Lenin very quickly recognized that a socialist society could not eliminate commodity economy. Stalin for the first time examined the forms of the two public ownership systems in conjunction with the necessity of commodity production and expounded the question of the relationship between commodity and currency under the socialist system; but his examination was not very thorough, and he did not acknowledge the means of production as commodity economy, nor acknowledge that the laws of value play a role of adjustment in production. But in our country, there has existed for a long time a traditional conception; that is, people tend to put socialism and commodity economy in opposition to each other, thinking that the planned economy of socialism excludes commodity economy and that the more the socialist economy develops, the more commodity economy and the laws of value would be subject to restriction; they take commodity economy and the laws of value as the hotbed for capitalism, so that once commodity economy and the laws of value are mentioned some comrades would always link them with capitalism as if capitalism has thus been restored. Such a traditional viewpoint has been an important cause for various kinds of "Leftist" mistakes to spring forth in our past economic work. The "Resolution" of the party Central Committee this time finally tells us clearly: the planned economy of socialism must consciously follow and apply the laws of value; it is a planned economy on the basis of public ownership. It thereby breaks the traditional conception that puts planned economy and commodity economy, and planned economy and the laws of value, in opposition to each other.

Socialism must practice planned economy on the basis of public ownership; this is an important indicator by which socialism is distinguished from capitalism, and also an important manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. On this point, we are unshakable. In the meantime, we must understand that commodity economy is an inevitable stage in social development; it has no inevitable link with capitalism; it is by no means any special realm of capitalism. So long as there are the two conditions of social division of labor and operational subjects with different economic interests, a commodity economy is bound to exist and inevitably abides by the principle of exchange between things of equal value. Under the socialist system, there exists a similar social division of labor and different operational subjects; therefore, socialism also must harbor commodity economy and the laws of value; this is so irrespective of man's will. And practice also proves that in the historical stage of socialism, only through the development of a commodity economy can we enhance social productive forces by a large margin and consolidate and perfect our socialist system. In order to fully develop our commodity economy and consciously follow and apply the laws

of value, then, we must reform the planning structure which ignored commodity economy and the laws of value in the past. The "Resolution" clearly proposes to set up a planning structure which consciously follows and applies the laws of value and to orderly and appropriately compress the realm of directive planning while appropriately expanding the realm of guidance planning. This is a major breakthrough in our planning work. All of these new theoretical viewpoints and new policy prescriptions have added new ingredients to the theoretical treasury of scientific socialism.

The series of new theoretical viewpoints expounded by the "Resolution" are summed up and generalized from the practice of our socialist construction; it must return to practice to guide our reform, to accept tests, and become enriched and developed in practice. Also, certain questions raised by the "Resolution" still await creation by the hundreds and thousands of masses in their practice. Therefore, there is still another question of going deep down into reality, emancipating further our thinking, and carrying out broad investigation and study and hard theoretical exploration. Only thus can we really master and implement the spirit of the "Resolution" to make contributions to the building of a socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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CSO: 4005/747

EAST REGION

PROPAGANDA WORK IN NEW ERA EMPHASIZED

Propaganda Work Conference Convened

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 85 p 1

[Report by staff correspondent: "Provincial Propaganda Work Conference Emphatically Points Out; Do a Good Job in Our Propaganda Work in the New Era Closely Around the Realization of the Party's General Tasks and Overall Objectives"]

[Text] The provincial propaganda work conference was held from 5 to 9 February in Jinan. The central theme of the conference this time was: earnestly study the spirit of the important speeches of the central leading comrades, keep in line with reality, and study the question of how to further rectify the operational guiding ideology for our propaganda work and thereby serve the four modernizations drive even better.

Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and Zheng Weimin [6774 0251 3046], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chief of its propaganda department, each gave a speech at the conference.

Ma Changgui [7456 7022 6311], deputy provincial governor, came to the conference as representative of the provincial "five stresses, four points of beauty and three loves" activities committee to convey to the participants its views on the launching by the province of the "five stresses, four points of beauty and three loves" activities this year.

The conference was of the opinion that during the past few years the province's ideological and propaganda front has done a great deal of work around the realization of the party's general tasks and overall objectives in the new era and achieved considerable results. However, the province has hardly adjusted to the requirements by the development of the new situation. In the main, this was because the influence of the kind of "Leftist" ideology like "taking class struggle as the key link" and the old, traditional ways of doing things still has not been thoroughly eliminated; the problem of politics and economics having become "two sources of wrangling" still has not been solved effectively, so that our propaganda work still cannot serve our economic construction any better.

The conference pointed out, in our propaganda work and our ideological and political work, we must thoroughly eliminate the long-standing negative influence of "taking class struggle as the key link" and conscientiously serve our economic construction. We must clearly recognize that during the new historical era the party's central task is to work on our four modernizations; the four modernizations program is the greatest politics today; the undertakings of all departments must be subordinated to, and serve, this central task; our propaganda work can be even less of an exception. We must not separate politics from economics or put them in opposition to each other. We must correctly recognize the status of propaganda work and ideological and political work in the cause of our party and conscientiously serve the party's central task and develop their assuring role in the realization of the party's general tasks and overall objectives.

The conference pointed out, in doing our propaganda work and ideological and political work we must keep theory in line with reality and thoroughly change the state of ideological ossification like that in the past. In order to solve this problem well, we must clearly understand: in terms of our attitude in treating Marxism, we must adhere to a viewpoint of development; we must judge whether a new theoretical viewpoint generalized from some new practice is correct or not and we cannot test it with the theory of the past but, rather, with today's practice; on the question of treating practice, we must likewise adhere to a viewpoint of development. In carrying out the four modernizations program, the broad masses of people will encounter new situations in certain areas and departments that are different from those in other areas and departments. In emphasizing keeping theory in line with reality, we must pay full attention to changes and to new situations and new problems that have already developed.

The conference pointed out, in order to do a good job in our propaganda work and ideological and political work in the new era, we must shift from the "pave-the-way with great criticism" and abusive use of "ideological struggle" of the past to the principle of dredging. We must develop our glorious tradition of uniting ideological education with the solving of practical problems of the masses and endeavor to guide people's thinking, words and deeds toward a positive, healthy and correct direction.

The conference pointed out, in carrying out our propaganda work and ideological and political work, we must be good at doing so on the basis of problems that the masses need to solve in the process of our "four modernizations" drive. And in a relevant way, we must overcome the malpractice of being superficial and paying no attention to social results as in the past.

The conference stressed that party committees at all levels must further strengthen their leadership over our propaganda work and constantly study, inspect and supervise the development of our work on the ideological front, and create some more conditions in order to let comrades in the propaganda departments understand the overall situation. We must adopt effective measures to strengthen ideological building and organizational building in our propaganda departments.

The conference provided an opportunity to exchange experiences gained in the earlier stage of our propaganda work and made certain deployments in respect to our propaganda work this year.

Attending the conference were more than 270 propaganda department chiefs of various prefectural and municipal party committees and various enterprise party committees, chiefs of their propaganda and theory sections, responsible persons of departments of the province's propaganda system, propaganda department chiefs of party committees of central and provincial institutions of higher learning, and responsible persons of propaganda departments of concerned units of the provincial military district and those directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial government.

#### Guiding Ideology Discussed

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Further Rectify the Vocational Guiding Ideology for Our Propaganda Work"]

[Text] At present, an important question faced by our ideological and propaganda front is how to set straight the guiding ideology for vocational work and thereby enable our propaganda work to better serve the four modernizations program.

In order to solve this problem, we must further emancipate our thinking, thoroughly eliminate the influence of the "Left," and clarify matters of right and wrong on certain major questions of principle in the ideological and political realm so as to establish the following correct viewpoints:

Establish the idea that propaganda work in our new era must serve the central focus of economic construction and thoroughly eliminate the influence of "taking class struggle as the key link." The content of politics is consistent with the requirement of the party's general task in every period. Today, along with the requirement of the party's general task having already shifted to the four modernizations drive, in our propaganda work we must resolutely discard the old concept of taking politics merely as class struggle, and establish the new viewpoint that doing a good job in our four modernizations is the greatest politics. We must follow the development of history by thoroughly negating the past idea and approach of putting politics in opposition to economics and resorting solely to politics "exerting an impact on everything." Only thus can we solve well the problem of politics and economics becoming two sources of wrangling, rectify the status of propaganda work in the party's cause as a whole, and better develop the role it deserves in the four modernizations program.

-- Establish the viewpoint that, to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must adhere to having theory unite with reality, and thoroughly change the state of ideological ossification that prevailed in the past. What we call reality is reality that continually unfolds itself; what we call theory is theory that continually develops along with the development of reality. Working on the four modernizations and attempting to quadruple

the output of our national economy are our greatest realities today. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has insisted on uniting the fundamental principles of Marxism with China's realities, continued to sum up the creative experiences of the masses of the people in carrying out construction of their socialist modernization, and put forward a series of principles for building a socialism with Chinese characteristics. These principles are fully embodied in a series of important documents of the party Central Committee and in the many important speeches and articles by the central leading comrades; they are an enrichment and development of Marxism under new historical conditions. To implement the principle of having theory unite with reality, we must in the understanding of such theory and reality break through certain traditional concepts and ossified modes of the past. Only thus can we effectively guide the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics with the theory of Marxism.

-- Establish the viewpoint of "letting construction take precedence," thoroughly eliminate the influence of the mistaken approaches of "pave-the-way with great criticism" and abusive use of "ideological struggle" in the past. We must see that, at present, our country is situated in a period of going all out to work for the four modernizations program. The mission of a propagandist is to call forth the sense of historical responsibility on the part of hundreds and thousands of masses and enable them to concentrate their energy on developing our social productive forces and do a good job in the modernization and construction. If we should continue to resort to "letting destruction take precedence," we would be going against the will of the people, departing from the requirement of our general tasks and overall objectives. In adhering to "letting construction take precedence," the most important thing at present is to implement the principle of dredging, carrying out positive education, adhere to seeking truth from facts and putting main emphasis on commendation and giving scope to the guiding role of advanced models, pay attention to the sufferings of the masses, listen to the opinions of the masses, and help the masses solve various ideological and practical problems. Adhering to "letting construction take precedence" and implementing the principle of dredging are a requirement for realizing the party's general tasks in the new era and also the new characteristics of our ideological and political work in the new situation.

-- Establish the concept of serving the basic level and serving the masses, overcome the malpractice of doing superficial work and paying no attention to social effects in the past. What the masses think about and do in the four modernizations program, and what experiences and lessons are learned in our work at the basic level, comrades on the ideological front should have some idea and do a good job in the various aspects of our propaganda and educational work in a manner of shooting at a definite target with one's arrow. In order to achieve this, we must follow the principle of "being both a student and a teacher," go deep down into realities of life to carry out investigation and study. We must endeavor to succeed in knowing both how to fight a war and how to do propaganda work like we did in the warring years and, like we did in the early years after the founding of our state, in knowing both how to work on socialist transformation and how to do propaganda work, both understanding economics and knowing how to carry out propaganda.

After the question of serving the basic level and the masses is well solved, the social effects of our propaganda would be greatly enhanced and the situation of our propaganda work would undergo a great change and would make an even greater contribution to "quadrupling production ahead of time, enriching the people and revitalizing Shandong Province."

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CSO:4005/723

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN CONFERENCE ON UNITED FRONT THEORETICAL WORK ENDS

HK100400 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Text] At the provincial conference on united front theoretical work which concluded this morning, Zhao Di, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, pointed out: At present, in united front theoretical work, it is necessary to lay stress on study of how, under the new historical conditions, to unite all forces which can be united, to mobilize all positive factors, and to serve socialist modernization.

Comrade Zhao Di emphasized: In studying united front theory, it is essential to adhere to the principle of linking theory with practice, to have a definite object in view, and to seek truth from facts. It is imperative to adhere to the four basic principles and to carry out scientific study and debates between different views.

This conference was held in Zhengzhou from 2 to 8 April. The conference conveyed the spirit of the national conference on united front theoretical work, summed up our province's experiences and achievements in unfolding study of the united front theory in recent years, inquired into certain theoretical problems of the united front in the course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and discussed the issues of how to thoroughly unfold study of united front theory throughout the province in the future, of publicity, and of education.

Zhang Shude, vice chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and chairman of the Provincial Federation of Social Sciences; Hao Fuhong, vice chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee; Gao Wei, deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee; and (Hu Yong), deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial CPC Committee, also spoke at the conference.

CSO: 4005/792

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI OPENS MEETING ON EXCHANGING TALENTED PEOPLE, TECHNOLOGY

HK100404 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Text] Today the newly decorated Hongshan Auditorium in Wuchang was filled with visitors. At 0830, when Provincial Vice Governor Wang Libin announced the opening of the provincial conference on exchanging talented people and technology, there were more than 10,000 participants in attendance inside and outside the auditorium.

According to an introduction given by a comrade in charge of the organization of the meeting, this meeting is an unprecedented occasion in the province for exchanging talented people and technology. There were originally some 1,000 talented people of various professions to be exchanged and some 2,000 scientific research results to be transferred at the meeting. As a result of several days of preparations, the two figures unexpectedly have doubled.

One of the important tasks for the meeting is to open the technological market, to speed up the progress of transforming technological achievements into commodities, and to encourage and support talented people, intellectual resources, and technology to move to the remote areas, the areas with the hardest conditions, and town and township enterprises. Therefore, some prefectoral, city, and county leading comrades in the remote mountainous areas have personally attended the meeting.

At the negotiation hall of Exi Autonomous Prefecture, our reporter met with Comrade (Peng Naidong), responsible comrade of Xuanen County. Peng told the reporter with emotion: The main reason why the industrial output value of Xuanen County has ranked last in the province for years is that the county lacked talented people. Today's meeting is being held at a good time. We must spare no efforts to attract talented people to the mountainous areas.

Shen Yinluo, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended today's opening ceremony and delivered a speech on behalf of the provincial CPC committee and government.

Also attending the opening ceremony were leaders of the provincial Advisory Committee, the provincial People's Congress, the provincial CPPCC Committee, and the Wuhan Military District, including (Ren Rong), Li Erzhong, Li Fuquan, Xu Jinbiao, Shi Zirong, and (Yang Rui).

SOUTHWEST REGION

MINORITY NATIONALITY EDUCATION IN YUNNAN

Kunming YUNNAN SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN YUNNAN] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 20-26

[Article by Wang Lianfang [3769 6647 5364]: "Reform and Develop Nationality Education in Light of Reality in Yunnan"]

[Excerpt] This writer believes that for the present and the fairly long-term future, there are two major tasks in nationality work: the economy and education. These tasks depend on, restrict and advance each other. As far as Yunnan and its special conditions are concerned, nationality education is an extremely important component of educational work in the province as a whole. The weak foundation of nationality education in Yunnan severely hampers economic development in the nationality areas. We are already confronted, therefore, with the glaring task of how to further strengthen and develop minority nationality education. This writer has analyzed the basic characteristics of Yunnan's nationalities, assessed the major influence of the nationalities' special conditions on nationality educational work and made tentative suggestions about the proper handling of nationality education. These are as follows: in accordance with the various levels of advancement and backwardness in plains areas and mountainous areas, on the border and in the hinterland and among all the nationalities, there should be special guidance, and there should be proper adjustment, improvement and reform of the current educational system. In particular, there must be more division into districts and the adoption of special policies, measures and methods--in the principles of teaching, methods of running schools, length of schooling, teaching materials and every other area--in the poor mountainous areas and in the forward positions of our border defense. For the present and the fairly long-term future, nationality education must first focus on meeting the minority nationalities' thirst for science and technology and emphasize the training of the specialized technical talent, so sorely needed for the border and mountainous areas, in such fields as forestry and animal husbandry.

For the present and the fairly long-term future, there are two major tasks in nationality work: the economy and education. These tasks depend on, restrict and advance each other. The unity of the nationalities constitutes the prerequisite, the foundation and the goal of the two great tasks. From now on, the actual application of the right of autonomy for nationality areas will be even more focused on these tasks. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC

Central Committee, education, especially scientific and technical education, has increasingly displayed a tremendous promoting effect on production, in step with the economic development in Yunnan's nationality areas. By the same token, the weakness of the foundation of Yunnan's nationality education has severely hampered that economic development. As far as our province is concerned, therefore—with its location on the border, its many mountainous regions, its many nationalities and the extremely uneven levels of social development among those nationalities—nationality education has become an extremely important component of educational work in Yunnan as a whole. We cannot but start with Yunnan's complex and diverse characteristics, adopt special concrete measures and more effectively raise each nationality's educational, scientific and technical levels, as well as the level of the social productive forces. All this is directly related to three issues: the great issue of a fundamental improvement in the quality of the nationalities and a conversion of Yunnan's minority nationalities from backwardness to advancement; the great issue of whether or not we can train many cadres of each nationality who meet the demands of the four modernizations and many specialists and technicians in all fields; and the major strategic issue of the development of China's great southwest and the possible construction of the "four great bases." As we build the "two civilizations" in nationality areas, therefore, we must place simultaneous emphasis on the economy and education. As far as the practical aspects of production are concerned, each fraternal nationality now needs education, science and technology more urgently than ever before. We are already confronted with the glaring task of further reforming and developing every level and kind of education in the minority nationality areas, a major strategic task that must be accomplished earnestly and well.

## I. The Basic State of Yunnan's Nationality Education Work

In the 34 years since the founding of the People's Republic, party and government have always cared about and attached importance to nationality education work in Yunnan. In 1951, a nationalities institute was established, the Kunming Nationality Normal School, nationality middle schools and nationality farming and study schools opened their doors and professional schools in such fields as politics, law, medicine and business offered nationality classes. Hence nationality education developed fairly rapidly at that time. After 1958, and especially during the Cultural Revolution, education in the nationality areas received a large dose of "arbitrary uniformity." Blind pursuit of quantity in school administration led to a serious departure from Yunnan's realities and objective possibilities. The use of the method of "raising all levels," the big push for ordinary middle schools and for middle schools with first-year college classes attached and the many theories of the "special nature of border areas" and the "backwardness of nationalities" all brutally rescinded the series of special measures for nationality education. Under pressure, the nationalities institute, the Nationality Normal School, the nationality middle schools and the nationality farming and study schools were almost completely shut down. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, the party has earnestly brought order out of chaos on the education front and in a timely fashion has carried out the spirit of the Central Conference on Nationality Education

Work. Only since then has nationality education in Yunnan developed afresh. According to 1983 statistics, the province's 20 institutions of higher learning had more than 20,000 students, more than 3,200 of whom (i.e., 16 percent) belonged to minority nationalities. Of those schools, 9 had 18 nationality classes in specialized subjects that enrolled 367 students. The more than 5,000 minority nationality students made up 22.7 percent of the more than 22,000 students at Yunnan's 78 secondary technical schools. Of those schools, 13 had 35 nationality classes with 1,755 students. The more than 4,600 minority nationality students made up 31 percent of the more than 14,800 students at the province's 22 secondary normal schools. Those schools included 8 nationality normal schools and 56 nationality classes with more than 2,800 students. The more than 179,000 minority nationality students made up 20.8 percent of the more than 860,000 students at Yunnan's ordinary secondary schools, which included 19 provincial nationality secondary schools and 181 nationality classes with more than 8,900 students. The more than 1.3 million minority nationality students made up 28.4 percent of the more than 4.57 million students at the province's elementary schools, which included 21 provincial nationality elementary schools and 127 nationality classes with more than 4,900 students. At the same time, all relevant departments and all geographic regions have opened many kinds of schools in order to train minority nationality students: the Provincial Commission for Nationality Affairs and the Provincial Science and Technology Commission have jointly established a scientific and technical school for nationality cadres that in 7 terms has trained 467 persons; the Commission for Nationality Affairs and the Provincial Animal Husbandry Bureau have conducted 3 terms of nationality classes at the Provincial School of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine that have trained 265 technical personnel; Dehong Autonomous Prefecture has established 9 farming and study schools with 400 students. Last year, nationality education made fresh progress, especially since 26.2 percent of the successful candidates for college admission belonged to minority nationalities as opposed to 7.7 percent in 1977.

From the above figures, it is not hard to tell that although nationality education in Yunnan has suffered interference and setbacks, it has obtained pleasing results since the Third Plenum: it has a fine foundation and a fine start, and an initial system of nationality education is gradually taking shape.

These results of ours are primarily the fruits of the attention from the CPC Central Committee and Provincial Committee and of the assiduous labor of all the comrades in the provincial educational and nationality departments, in all the schools and in education work in general. An important part of our experience is that in nationality education, we have restored and carried forward the party's excellent tradition and have taken a series of special measures:

(1) Given the weak foundation of education in Yunnan's nationality areas, we have opened many kinds of schools, including nationality secondary and elementary schools. Nationality classes and preparatory courses have been offered in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Although the number of students is still quite small, the practical results are most

clear. Because many students from backward nationalities never have a good foundation from elementary school on up, they are shortchanged in their studies almost every year. Only through "eating in a special mess" and special lessons after school can such students learn according to the normal schedule. In particular, nationality classes at the college and secondary levels are a major step in Yunnan's training of genuinely qualified college and middle school students from backward nationalities.

(2) Given the poverty and backward production of some backward nationalities in Yunnan, party and government have given special help and consideration: students at nationality middle schools have an extra 10 to 15 yuan added to their monthly allowance for living expenses, while nationality elementary school students at boarding schools get an extra 10 yuan. In addition, each student at these 2 types of schools receives 30 yuan for baggage and winter clothing. Nationality students at semiboarding schools get an extra 5 yuan a month. The state guarantees either the food allowance or the stipend for nationality students at the nationalities institute and at colleges and universities. At the same time, practice proves that in impoverished and remote mountainous and border areas, nationality students can hardly afford to go to school without this special help, primarily in the form of boarding schools.

(3) Given the nationalities' different spoken and written languages, elementary schools in nationality areas where Chinese is not used resort to bilingual education. If a nationality has a written language, that language is used; if it does not have one, its spoken language is used to supplement instruction. Dehong Autonomous Prefecture now has 883 nationality elementary schools. These schools offer 301 classes in which nationality spoken languages are used. In nationality areas like Dehong, bilingual education and the use of nationality spoken languages to wipe out illiteracy prove to be incomparably superior to the exclusive use of Chinese. Not only do they not impair the learning of Chinese but on the contrary help nationality students improve their ability in Chinese. In Zhaotong Prefecture 2 years ago, the 10 county seats ran 144 night schools to wipe out illiteracy. Out of 5,800 students, 410 have become literate. Conversely, many areas where only Chinese was used to wipe out illiteracy found that their haste made waste. Their paltry results show that exclusive use of Chinese does not only run counter to linguistic equality but also violates the laws of education directly.

(4) In view of the realities of nationality education--a weak foundation, inferior facilities, a hard life for the faculty--Yunnan has adopted a policy of support and preferential treatment. Most prefectures and counties annually provide 10 percent of their localities' financial resources to help solve the special difficulties in nationality education. Many commune and brigade schools have a "three no" policy (no tuition, no book fee and no fees for pen, ink and paper). Last year, the provincial government allocated a special fund of 15 million yuan for the establishment of elementary semiboarding schools. It has also made necessary improvements in the remuneration of teachers at secondary and elementary schools in nationality areas. In some areas, teachers' wages float to the next highest level, and teachers from outside areas are allowed to apply for reimbursement for two trips by car per year and

are rotated every few years. Moreover, every locality has provided quite a few honors and rewards. All of these policies and measures have, to different degrees, played an excellent role in encouraging teachers to concentrate on nationality education.

(5) Given the urgent needs in the realms of production and livelihood in the nationality areas, every prefecture, county and relevant department has adopted many methods of launching training classes and vocational schools in all specialties and technical fields. In so doing they have received an enthusiastic welcome from the people of each nationality.

## II. Current Problems

As we measure the present situation against the need for accelerated economic and educational development in Yunnan's nationality areas, we should soberly note that nationality education is still developing slowly in this province, that instruction is of low quality and that we are far from able to satisfy the hopes and demands of the people of each nationality. In particular, nationality education has developed quite unevenly. Compared to both China's educational level and the educational levels of other nationality provinces and autonomous regions, it was much inferior. Let us take college students as an example. According to national statistics for 1983, Yunnan had a lower proportion of its minority nationality population in college than did Nei Monggol, Xinjiang, Guangxi, Qinghai, Guizhou and Tibet; only Ningxia was below Yunnan. Within the province, there was not only a gap between the Han and the minority nationalities, but there were also gaps among the minority nationalities themselves. There were even relatively large gaps between each branch or lineage of one nationality. In 1983, Yunnan's institutions of higher learning admitted 7,163 new students, of whom 1,584 belonged to minority nationalities. The Han had 3.5 new college students per 10,000 population, a figure topped by the Bai, Naxi, Mongols and Hui. Most of the other minority nationalities had figures below about 0.5, and I had a mere 0.27. In elementary schools, the following phenomenon prevailed: a low enrollment rate in the first year, a lower consolidation rate in the middle years and an even lower competency rate at the time of graduation. There are many reasons for this serious situation, but the basic problem is a tendency toward vague generalization and arbitrary uniformity in the guiding ideology of nationality education. We still have not taken into full account the realities in the nationality areas and to different degrees have divorced ourselves from the masses' needs in the realms of production and livelihood in the nationality areas and from the reality that most minority nationalities do not understand the Chinese language. I think that this is mainly because we lack a profound understanding of the basic characteristics of Yunnan's nationalities and because we often underestimate the great effect that their special characteristics have on nationality education. I believe that we must further recognize and appraise the following:

(1) Yunnan has 24 minority nationalities; the levels of socioeconomic development among them are extremely uneven. Yunnan has a minority nationality population of 10.5 million, more than 3.5 million of which belongs to the Bai, Hui and Naxi and may basically be just as advanced as the Han. To

different degrees, almost all the other nationalities still retain vestiges of primitive communes, slave society and a society of serfs and feudal lords. Although they all have now entered socialist society, they have actually leaped over two or three stages of social and historical development. Whether in politics, the economy and cultural traditions on the one hand or in social ideology and psychological qualities on the other, they have all retained fairly pronounced traces of the old society. To this day, they have an utterly low level of social productive forces. This is not just a function of greater or lesser cash incomes among the nationalities but also indicates gaps between their stages of social development. It seems that the complete transformation of this situation will under no circumstances take merely a few years or even a few decades. This dictates, then, that nationality education work in Yunnan has to adapt to this complex and grim social reality.

(2) Yunnan's greatest objective realities are that 94 percent of its land area consists of mountains and that those mountains hold a minority nationality population of 7 million. On the one hand, the mountainous areas truly are extremely rich in forests, pastures, minerals, water and other natural resources; herein lies Yunnan's "reserve strength" for the four modernizations. On the other hand, there are high mountains and remote roads, difficult communications and a lack of energy. Everywhere there can be found a high degree of dispersion in the areas inhabited by the nationalities, many townships and districts with an area of 100 or more square kilometers, villages consisting of 3 households and stockaded villages consisting of 5 households. Although the problems of clothing and food for most of the nationality population in the mountains have been tentatively solved in the past few years, production still has a weak foundation, and the commodity economy has yet to get truly under way. In particular, the more than four million Yi, Miao, Lisu and others who are scattered in the cold impoverished mountain areas have a mode of production virtually stuck at the level of primitive agriculture. (Although these people make up only 12 percent of Yunnan's population, their absolute number is equivalent to the combined minority nationality population of Ningxia, Qinghai and Tibet.) Slash-and-burn cultivation and extensive cultivation--in addition to many years of heavy cutting and light reforestation by state forest departments and many years of our inadequate attention to and impotent measures in mountain region work--have led to excessive exploitation of mountain forest resources and to a vicious ecological circle. To this day, our fraternal nationalities' scientific, technical and educational levels remain so low that they have very little in the way of even the most elementary processing industry and commodity production. They cannot effectively process their abundant resources into products, and even if they did process them, it would be hard to turn those products into competitive commodities. It seems that the basic transformation of mountain poverty into prosperity must begin with the scientific and technical education of the nationalities, since such education will mean an important breakthrough in the struggle to strengthen the social productive forces.

(3) All of Yunnan's nationalities are distributed in large areas of scattered communities and small areas of compact communities. Among the nationalities there are mutual learning and absorption of the characteristics and advantages

of fine culture (including spoken and written languages). In addition, each nationality is maintaining its own characteristics in a fairly stable manner and has its own spoken language, written language and cultural traditions. Moreover, each has its own educational system and methods of passing on knowledge. Because of all this, relations among the nationalities have become complex and their cultures and education diverse. Nearly all members of every nationality believe in religion: Buddhism, Protestant and Catholic Christianity and Islam all have some adherents. Even more minority nation nationality members believe in the primitive religion of "animism." Church and state used to be one for the Tibetans, while education and religion were one for the Dai; for Protestant and Catholic Miao, Lisu and others, they still are. Nationalities like the Yi, Hani and others pass on their history and culture through the "bimo" [3968 2302], the leaders of their own primitive religion. The nationalities' spoken and written languages are even more numerous and complicated. One nationality speaks two or even three dialects that differ considerably from each other. Another nationality speaks only Chinese, while some do not understand Chinese at all. Some nationalities have their own old written languages; the Dai even have two or three such languages. Other nationalities have simple written languages invented by missionaries. Since liberation, we have reformed some of the old written languages and now face the ensuing contradiction of new and old written languages in use. Even more important is that 60 percent of the minority nationalities neither understand Chinese nor have their own written languages. Unfortunately, our educational system, content of instruction, instructional tools for writing and current teachers are seriously unsuited for this situation. Let us take the teachers as just one example. The Han teachers working with the nationalities in the border and mountain regions, except for some old ones with deep roots in those areas, do not understand the spoken and written languages of those nationalities. On the other hand, teachers belonging to local nationalities know their own spoken and written languages well but generally have too little competence in Chinese. Although we have already taken some special measures to deal with these problems, we have yet to obtain a fundamental solution to any of them.

(4) Yunnan has more than 4,000 kilometers of national defense line, or 1/5 of China's 20,000 kilometers of national defense line. The three nations and several powers abutting the province make up more than one-fourth of China's neighbors. Living on both sides of Yunnan's international border are 14 nationalities. Therefore, the soldiers and civilians on that border always directly shoulder the major strategic responsibility of looking after the motherland's great southwest. Herein lies the basic difference between the borderlands and the hinterland. Historically speaking, Yunnan's border defense line before liberation was actually handled by the semiseparatist regimes of tusi headmen. The vast majority of these men were patriots and struggled against aggression numberless times. All in all, however, they had but limited power, and so some of the forward positions on the border went undefended. Yunnan's international border is now better protected than ever before, and relations with Burma and other neighboring states are growing stronger and friendlier. Nevertheless, certain unfriendly powers have never stopped doing their political, economic, cultural and military damage, infiltration and aggression. Across the border, certain reactionary forces

within the Christian church are even exploiting schools in order to lure the youth of our border nationalities out of China and into their service. In addition, as far as the need for the borderlands' economic development is concerned, we must adopt an open door policy and permit people living on the other side of the frontier to have contact and trade with those on our side. This means that Yunnan's border regions will be defended on the one hand allowed to compete freely on the other. If border defense and development are to keep the initiative forever and win victories constantly, they must be based on the borderlands' characteristics and must truly improve the minority nationalities' economy, culture and education.

Given all of these complex and diverse characteristics, it has been determined that in the entire range of problems confronted in Yunnan's nationality education work, we must truly conform to the above realities. With the guidance of China's general education policy, we must creatively set out on a specific new road that has both efficacy and its own characteristics. This is not temporary expediency but a major historical task that will be protracted and arduous.

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CSO: 4005/582

NORTH REGION

PARTY COMMITTEE UNDERGOES COMPARATIVE INSPECTION

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 19-20

[Article by the Beijing municipal CPC committee for the foreign trade General Company: "How We Did Well at Our Comparative Inspection"]

[Text] Our General Company is a party rectification experimental unit of Beijing municipality. Under the leadership of the municipal CPC committee and on the basis of our study of the documents for party rectification and a common understanding, we have undertaken 3 months of collective and individual comparative inspection. Doing this has increased our understanding of the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as well as correcting the guiding ideology of our business and raising the consciousness of maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee. The experience has given impetus to opposition to the deeper development of bureaucratism, has vigorously advanced reform in the enterprise, and party spirit has clearly taken a turn for the better. It has also strengthened our whole hearted intention to serve the people, it has given a glow to the enthusiasm with which we forge the new look of foreign trade, and every economic indicator has taken an upturn. Comrades have said that this occasion for comparative inspection maintained high standards, kept a very close connection with reality, and took up the chief questions. It also made clear the direction of future efforts, and stimulated the further development of work in foreign trade. It was an occasion of a good summation and improvement.

We chiefly followed the following four points in taking up the methods and understanding for the comparative inspection:

1. Keep up with self-education and stress backbone cadres taking the lead.

During our comparative inspection we persisted throughout in focusing on self-education, in stressing a revolution in awareness, in self-resolution of problems, and in changing the past "leftist" way of doing things. We put our minds to educating the majority and fundamentally improving the political thinking and awareness of the broad mass of party members. The basis of improving understanding is in the study of the documents of party rectification. We organized Party members into an earnest study of party rectification resolutions and "Circular" No 7 from the Central Commission for Guiding

Party Rectification, together with "Comrade Mao Zedong on Party Spirit and Party Organization," "Serve the People," "Oppose Liberalism," "How To Be a Communist Party Member," in all some 10 articles. At the same time we provided for all members three party classes in party character, party spirit and discipline, and criticism and self-criticism for education about basic party knowledge and its excellent traditions. We organized a special discussion of the aim of firmly establishing wholehearted service to the people. There we studied the meritorious deeds of the hero Fa Kashan [3127 0595 1472] of Guangxi and of the outstanding party member, party branch secretary of the Dagao warehouse of a drawwork company, Wang Shuyu [3769 2885 3768], which allowed everyone to understand the standards befitting party members and made clear the lines between right and wrong. Then, on the basis of our studies, we also turned our attention to developing the leadership function of leading cadre. Leading members of the General Company party committee and those of responsibility in all sections made up detailed outlines for the comparative inspection, managing to boldly touch upon their own chief problems. Characteristics shared among all were: serious and earnest, sincere in attitude, practical and honest, focal points stood out, and their orientation was clear. All leading cadre used themselves as examples and took the lead at all levels, serving as examples for party members. The vast majority of Party members want to maintain high standards and strict demands, and set strict demand on themselves according to standards for party members, diligently checking into problems in ideological style. Some comrades used to feel that "doing business life is sweet, doing political work life is tough," "doing business is profitable, doing political work is to be a poor public servant." Others say that foreign trade is a big name but the reality is "no road to wealth, no place to stay, and sons will have no means," and feel that they have "lost out." When these people went through comparative inspection their awareness was raised and their revolutionary spirit was roused. Chen Ailan [7115 1947 5695], a 55 year-old business person at a consultant services company, has students who have become department chiefs, some have reviewed technical posts, while she is still an ordinary business person. But she stringently demanded of herself according to standards of party members and then cared no more for her own personal gains or losses. She said, "Communist Party members are always in front and foremost want to place the advantage of the party and country in the highest position. Individual benefit must unqualifiedly be subordinated to revolutionary benefit." She overcame the difficulties of age and weakness to be actively willing to do hard work and energetically take on the work of consultative services.

## 2. Broadly seek out opinions, encourage heart-to-heart talks.

In order to do well at comparative inspection we made use of many different formats and listened seriously to ideas from all points of view in and out of the party. Before the collective comparative inspection of the party committee of the General Company, some principal leading comrades and organization comrades held various conferences at each unit, where everyone enthusiastically offered more than 900 opinions. We also held extensive heart-to-heart talks, where more than 900 organizational party members talked, among which there were no more than 16 from the party committee or

standing committee, and some comrades talked deeply of their jobs and families. Because of past contradictions two comrades from the trade unions had ideological "misunderstandings" that they could not get rid of for a long time. Sharing their feelings at this heart-to-heart session they began self-criticism. They became friendlier and friendlier, more and more intimate, then the "barriers" were down and their feelings of fellowship strengthened and their enthusiasm for their work increased.

Through this seeking of opinions and heart-to-heart sessions we uncovered those problems with which the masses are most concerned and on which they had most to say, which formed a basis for the comparative inspection. On the basis of extensive gathering of opinions, the collective report outline for the comparative inspection by the party committee of the General Company was revised 13 or 14 times. It was then subjected to a thorough inspection by the general membership item by item. They seriously and earnestly uncovered problems in three areas: the thinking behind vocational guidance was insufficiently correct, unhealthy tendencies were not treated vigorously enough, and the seriousness of bureaucratism. After comparative inspection, the vote of summing up, improvement, and mobilization was brought into play, which unified thinking.

3. Oppose the tendency to be "unprincipled," and correctly undertake criticism and self-criticism.

Provisions for party rectification point out: "To correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism is an effective way to resolve internal party contradictions. By not conscientiously carrying out criticism and self-criticism the goals of party rectification cannot be reached." The General Company party committee made correcting the party spirit one of the key points of the comparative inspection, they opposed the "unprincipled" tendency and seriously analyzed problems that had appeared in the past and their reasons. In recent years unhealthy tendencies in the General Company and associated units has been rather serious. Some have had to do with serious economic problems and criminal cases. Problems of violation of discipline in foreign affairs and financial discipline in purchasing, exports, and storage and shipping have been somewhat common. As this and that problem have come out the key has been that leading cadres have not taken the lead to create a situation of higher-ups by those below. We have not been firm with problems among the leadership, but have been indecisive and too preoccupied. At the same time education in party style has not been incisive or solid. During our comparative inspection we absorbed these lessons, firmed up our principles, became realistic and practical, and armed with the weapon of criticism and self-criticism diligently corrected the unhealthy tendencies of using authority for private purposes, acting in excess of authority, and serious dereliction of duty at work, all of which have accelerated improvements in party style.

Leading members of the General Company party committee have adopted a combination of the methods of individual assessment and organized verification to quickly clear up problems of using public authority for private means by office level leading cadre. All who had violated national rules

took the initiative of self-criticism. Some had given the items back and others had made up the difference in price. At the same time, and coordinated with the comparative inspection, we strengthened anti-corruption education among party members. Since the party rectification there have been no problems of rule violations among comrades who have gone abroad or to Hong Kong or Macao for business in foreign trade.

#### 4. Earnestly strengthen leadership and strictly follow policy.

We strengthened leadership in four respects: one was in resolutely implementing the policy of carrying out rectification and reform simultaneously, and compiling reform before rectification. This is not closing the door before inspecting, nor rectifying spirit apart from reality, but is the connection of theory to reality, resolving questions from ideology, and seeing results in action. Second was coming to grips with ideological tendencies in party members in a timely fashion and launching ideological work with a focus. This is especially true for ideological transformation work. When viewing others we should maintain the principle of one dividing into two, we should acknowledge their achievements, point out problems, and should wait patiently because thinking does not change all of a sudden. Third was utilizing the guidance of models by letting two branches go a step ahead and then reporting on their experience in meetings with the branch secretary. Fourth was to strictly check at each level. We sent liaison personnel to each branch and examination groups also kept branches informed of their findings. Finally we also used a "small check and acceptance." With these measures we ensured the quality of the comparative check.

In order to strictly come to grips with the policies, we proclaimed to the general membership a policy of "four prohibitions" and "four permission." Especially for those comrades in error, this began a revolution of self-awareness, and achieving a principle that was not hounding, nor compelling, nor limitless we put our efforts into accomplishing the transformation. Because of this everyone overcame the "three fears," namely, the fear of criticizing leaders for abusing their power, the fear of criticizing co-workers and harming good terms, and the fear of losing face by self-criticism. Because everyone was able to get rid of these concerns they could then go into the inspection with nothing on their conscience, could be strict in appraising themselves, and could be bold in open-minded criticism. Some comrades said that in comparing this comparative inspection with past political movements there were three points that were different: in the past there was a stormy air and this time all was pleasant; second, in the past they wanted me to be inspected, but this time I wanted to; third, in the past the experience was very upsetting, but this time I feel refreshed and happy.

We made some progress during the party rectification comparative inspection but are still far from the demands of the municipal CPC committee. We want to comprehensively complete the various tasks of the party rectification on the basis of a summation of our experiences, thereby forwarding the reform, work in economy, and the other tasks. And we want to put a completely new face on foreign trade with the bold vision of pioneers and the spirit of courageously going into combat.

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NORTH REGION

#### NEW ROLE FOR PARTY COMMITTEES IN ENTERPRISES

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 pp 21-22

[Article by Li Xin [2621 6580], party secretary of the Beijing Printing and Dyeing Factory: "After Implementation of the Factory Director Responsibility System, How is the Party Committee To Function?"

[Text] Editor's note: The question of how the enterprise party committee is to go on with its work after implementation of the factory director (manager) responsibility system is a new one. In this issue we are publishing what Comrade Li Xin of the Beijing Printing and Dyeing Factory has learned from experience and hope that many other party committee secretaries (party branch secretaries) will be inspired to write an article and use our publication for the exchange of experiences and for comparing notes. Also, if there are questions or problems at work we welcome your letters telling us of them.

Beginning in the latter part of April 1984, the Beijing Printing and Dyeing Factory began a series of reforms. During this restructuring the key has been the factory director responsibility system. In just these few short months the production situation has taken a clear turn for the better, management has been invigorated, product development has quickened, and economic results have been improved.

The position and function of the enterprise party committee underwent a new change after institution of the factory director responsibility system. This new change was bound to generate varying opinions among the comrades working in the party. Therefore, whether we can negotiate this turn in thinking, as well as adapt to the new situation and strengthen and improve the leadership of the party in enterprises is a question urgently awaiting resolution. In what follows I sum up the true conditions at our plant and discuss my own findings and understanding of this problem.

With the policy of factory director responsibility the enterprise party committee must be successful in developing its work, to which purpose it must first become clear in theory just what is meant by the leadership of the party and how party leadership is to be realized in state-run industries and enterprises. Based on the principles of "the party should govern the party" and "Government will strive to govern" proposed by Comrade Hu Yaobang in the Political Report of the 12th Party Congress of the CPC, the new

situation and new responsibilities demand that the enterprise party committee will change from direct leadership in production administration to ensuring supervision of the work of production administration. Will this kind of change in the work of the enterprise party committee weaken leadership by the party of the enterprise? Based on actual experience of the reform we feel that it will not weaken but will strengthen instead. Leadership of the enterprise by the party committee is primarily manifested in ensuring that the enterprise put into effect the party line, principles, and policies, and is manifested in the guarantee and supervision of administrative leadership by the party committee. The idea that leadership by the party within the enterprise is "everything must be decided by the party committee, last word to the party committee secretary" is an old concept. If we do not change this concept then we cannot ensure that the factory director can effectively exercise his functions and powers, nor carry out administrative leadership of the enterprise.

Well then, after implementation of the factory director responsibility what after all should the enterprise party committee do, how can it effectively carry out its work? According to provisions of the "National Industrial Enterprise Laws" (draft), we studied the "Working Rules for Party Committees" that has been worked out, which clearly provide that the basic responsibility of party committees are: to do its ideological and political work well and work with trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and the labor representative assemblies, as well as to pay close attention to the party's self-strengthening; to ensure implementation of the party line, principles, and policies within the enterprise, support the factory director's effective carrying out of his functions and powers, and to ensure the overall completeness of the tasks of production management and administration; to supervise discipline and respect for the law in leadership and cadre at all levels, to correct management thinking, maintain the socialist direction, maintain the mass line, and wholeheartedly serve the people. For all this we must chiefly concern ourselves with five activities:

1. Concentrate one's energy, paying close attention to the ideological and political work in the reform while keeping a definite objective in mind. New situations and new problems will emerge from the reform in an endless stream, many of which will be unexpected. As at our factory in the process of forming cabinets of all levels, in reinstatement of pioneering talent, and in large scale use of economic contracts and the practice of extensive rewards and penalties, there is much influence from "leftist" thinking and resistance from traditional concepts. This requires us to study the new contradictions, solve the new problems, and thoroughly and painstakingly do our ideological and political work. Faced with the situation where some comrades are not clear about the significance of the reform we have used the various methods of public explanation, private discussions, and organizing grassroots investigations to repeat over and over again the goals and significance of the reform. We have talked much of the principles of respecting knowledge, respecting talent, and opposing equalitarianism, and have improved the level of consciousness of the broad majority of staff and workers. In the last few months there have been adjustments of cadre above the middle level amounting to 56 people, but the whole factory has maintained

throughout a swell of production enthusiasm and a state of stability and unity. It has been expressed through the whole enterprise that with political work and economic work as cohesive as it is today, with the party and authorities this harmonious, with no division between the party secretary and the factory director, there is great hope for the printing and dyeing factory.

2. With our focus on intellectuals and young workers, muster our strength to take charge of the party's development work. In order to meet the requirements on the new situation and the new tasks the party committee has concentrated on overcoming the influence of "leftist" ideology and prejudice toward intellectuals and young workers to courageously recruit a core of outstanding intellectuals and youth from the first line of production. Every month party organizations at all levels are meeting to study the problems of party construction. They analyze ideological developments among party members and activists, and coordinate the reform and take care of the work of recruiting party members. As for the new appointments of non-party administrative leadership cadre, and especially intellectual cadre, the party committee has not only often sought them out for discussions and sought to educate them ideologically, but has several times demanded that each general branch be especially concerned about their ideology, that they actively support them in their work, and that they watch over their non-work lives. In this way we can play a very good role in changing the aspect of the enterprise. At the moment, 10 of the 25 newly appointed non-party intellectual leading cadre have been recruited as party members. Since the reform this factory has recruited 14 intellectuals as party members and 6 youth under 25, which has strengthened the vigor and fighting power of our party ranks. Of the 290 technical personnel currently at the factory, 61 have applied for party membership.

3. Strengthen our leadership of trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and the militia, bring into play initiative from all areas, unite in cooperation, and do our work well. To improve the quality and effectiveness of the trade unions and Communist Youth League, the party committee has concentrated on the readjustment of groups in trade unions and the Communist Youth League. The trade union chairpersons from 12 technical offices and shops are already concurrently deputy chiefs of the general party branch and the general party secretaries of 4 large shops have been listed as cadre not engaged in production, which has strengthened our work in trade unions and the Communist Youth League. To develop the function of the labor representative assembly we have already called six meetings of the labor representative assembly and labor representative assembly presidium. We have discussed important policies regarding production management, we have deliberated and decided upon the various systems of rules within the factories and questions of welfare benefits for staff and workers, both guaranteeing all the provisions for the reform plans and strengthening the ruling position of staff and workers.

4. We will help the factory director with the key points of policy and guarantee the implementation of all party principles and policies. This is the most important work of the enterprise party committee.

We first want to help the factory director carry out his authority to employ people and to appoint cadre according to standards of the "four modernizations" and new viewpoints on employment. We will recommend that the factory director not employ those who during the "cultural revolution" had serious problems or who did not pay sufficient attention to principle, those who are not dedicated to their work, those who are irresponsible, those who cannot make the most of new prospects, and those who do not obey their leaders. We can help the administrative cadre to learn diligently, to implement party principles and policies and national laws, and to rectify the guiding ideology of management. Having drawn up the responsibility system for the party committee to take charge of party practice we will ensure that cadre at all levels keep to principle, observe discipline and respect the laws, make the most of the party's good traditions, and act in strict accordance with the "Guiding Principles." We will organize labor representatives to make democratic evaluations of middle and higher level cadre, by means of which there will be both benefit to cadre in accepting supervision by the masses, as well as organizing a basis for understanding, using, rewarding, and promoting cadre.

5. With mutual support and close cooperation we will establish a new type of relationship between the party secretary and the factory director. With the implementation of the factory director responsibility system the relationship between the party secretary and the factory director is one of a separation of labor between the party and administration. But this sort of division of labor is inseparable from mutual support and close cooperation. Only in this form can we set up the new relationship between the party secretary and the factory director to jointly and successfully manage the affairs of the enterprises.

First of all, the party secretary will in both ideology and work method change from the custom of having everything decided by the party, where the Party secretary was in charge, to a function of ensuring, supporting, and cooperating with the work of the factory director. To this purpose the party committee must take up three initiatives: one is to take the initiative in appraising the factory director of conditions. Through party committee conferences, factory business conferences, social occasions, and individual conversations appraise the factory director of the central work of the party committee, inform him of existing problems within the party, let him know of the ideological positions of cadre and staff and workers, and at the same time listen to what the factory has to say about the conditions of factory operations and problems in his administrative work. The second is for the party committee to take the initiative in making suggestions about production and administration of the enterprise, in making up for insufficiencies in the work of the factory director, and in clearing up difficulties for the factory director. It can make the factory director feel that there is a great deal of strong support behind him, that he can dare to be open, and that he can effectively carry out his authority in production administration. Our factory director has said from deep personal understanding that during the restructuring he dared to be open-handed and bold chiefly due to support from the party committee, and that without their active support and close cooperation it would have been difficult to imagine managing reform of the

enterprise. Third, the party committee secretary will take the initiative in coordinating relations between the factory director and mass organizations like the trade unions and the Communist Youth League. Since the restructuring we have fully developed the role of the trade unions and the Youth League, and have done much work in reform of publicity and reform of support. Because of close cooperation between the party committee and the factory director, the entire enterprise has had new party, administrative, and worker collective energy to take up the lively situation of reform.

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NORTH REGION

BEIJING UNIVERSITY ON NEGATION OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, 13 Jan 85  
pp 10-13

[Article by Beijing University's CPC Committee: "An Intensive Educational Campaign Aimed at Thorough Negation of the 'Cultural Revolution' in the Midst of Party Consolidation Urged"]

[Text] During the "great cultural revolution," Beijing University became a disaster area where devastating damage was done to the work of the party. In the process of party consolidation, we have achieved positive results in thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution" by offering intensive education on the basis of conditions in the school. The following efforts have been undertaken to achieve this goal.

I. Eliminate Ideological Obstacles; Raise People's Awareness of the Importance of Negating the "Cultural Reovlution."

We had the support of the masses of party members and cadres when we proposed that the thorough negation of the "cultural revolution" be conducted simultaneously with document studying. On the other hand, there were also some party members and cadres who expressed concern over the proposal. Some of them said that there was no need to "bring up an old issue" since we had long ago negated the "cultural revolution"; others were worried that things might get out of hand if we "reopened the wound that had already healed." There were also some comrades who felt that this particular educational campaign had little to do with them either because they were persecuted during the "cultural revolution" were worried that they would be "punished." Those members who received a college education, joined the party and got promoted during the period were afraid that the negation of the "cultural revolution" would mean the negation of them.

In view of these facts, we began by unifying the ideological awareness among leading cadres of the party committee's standing commmittee and among grade-two cadres in various departments (divisions) of the university.

(1) We have unified people's awareness of the necessity of the educational campaign which aims at negating the "cultural revolution." Having studied the conditions of the university, we concluded that although the masses of

party members and cadres had a greater understanding of the problem concerning the "cultural revolution" after they had grasped the line, goal and policy of the party proposed by the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the "Party's Resolutions on Certain Historical Issues Since the Founding of the Nation," they still had to learn to integrate theory with practice and negate the "cultural revolution" ideologically and emotionally. We felt that extra efforts should be made to eliminate the pernicious and negative influence of the "cultural revolution" and to summarize past experiences. Some comrades, while having negated the "cultural revolution" in principle, still had reservations about those issues that involved their own agencies, departments or simply themselves. There were also those who felt totally disgusted with the "cultural revolution" and yet were doubtful of reform because they had been mentally conditioned by the "leftist" ideology of the "cultural revolution." In some agencies, remnants of factionalism interfered with work in restructuring the leading circles, recruiting new party members, promoting people and examining the "three types of people." Certain erroneous ideas and practices formed during the "cultural revolution" were obstructing our work. These facts bespoke the absolute necessity of an intense educational campaign which negated thoroughly the "cultural revolution" among party members. Failure to negate totally the "cultural revolution" would mean that the line, goal and policy of the party since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee could not be comprehended and understood accurately; it would also mean that the three "serious and confusing" problems confronting the party could not be resolved and that the four objectives of party consolidation could not be met. Failure to negate thoroughly the "cultural revolution" would mean that we cannot eradicate factionalism, lift the party spirit, eliminate the "three types of people" and educate those comrades who erred during the "cultural revolution"; it would also mean that we won't be able to free ourselves from "leftist" influence, be liberated ideologically and be enthusiastic about and bold in reform efforts. In short, the educational campaign which aims at the thorough negation of the "cultural revolution" is not an attempt to "bring up an old issue"; it is essential to party consolidation and is of vital importance to further healing the wound caused by the "cultural revolution," enhancing the combat ability of leading party groups and improving the quality of the education offered by our school.

(2) We delineated the purpose of this particular educational campaign. After having engaged in study and discussion, leading party members and cadres became aware of the following facts. First, this educational campaign is an important part of party consolidation within the university. It aims at expediting party consolidation by enhancing the awareness of the issue concerning the negation of the "cultural revolution" among party members and cadres, distinguishing right from wrong, redressing mistakes and summarizing experiences. Second, this educational campaign is an extensive one that concerns every member of the party. Every party member should be actively involved regardless of his personal experience during the "cultural revolution." Those who made mistakes during the "cultural revolution" should take advantage of this opportunity to purify their thoughts and summarize past experiences, and those who were persecuted should also do so because in those days everyone was exposed to "leftist" influence. Third, theory must be

closely integrated with reality. Every party member should look back on and evaluate earnestly the 10 years of internal upheaval and his own ideology and behavior during those years. This is essential to enhancing awareness and is inherently different from "being tangled up in history." Fourth, like party consolidation, this educational campaign does not lead to the "persecution" of a particular group of people by another group of people; instead, it asks that every party member set high demands on themselves and "redress" all mistakes. Fifth, the negation of the "cultural revolution" is completely different from, while linked to, the evaluation of party members. The qualifications of a party member must be measured on the basis of the party constitution and the "CPC Central Committee's Resolution on Party Consolidation." Sixth, every party member should earnestly evaluate himself and summarize past experiences. We do not allow "everyone to pass"; on the other hand, we do not believe that "everyone is responsible for the mistakes committed." We only intend to stress that everyone is expected to play a role in raising people's awareness, negating thoroughly the "cultural revolution" and eliminating its pernicious influence. These proposals and suggestions, expounded at the General Membership Meeting of the Party, won overwhelming support. The educational campaign has been able to develop because people have become more aware and self-conscious and because the concern and worries of some comrades have disappeared.

## II. We Took the Conditions of Our School into Consideration When We Proceeded To Redress the Severe Damages and Negative Influences the "Cultural Revolution" Had Exerted on the Work of the Party.

The total negation of the "cultural revolution" requires not only a deep theoretical understanding and realistic recognition of the significance of this devastating event but also a complete awareness of its aftermath and determination to redress past mistakes.

(1) Fully recognize the principal thesis and errors of the "Theory of Continuous Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and eradicate its pernicious influence among party members.

The 10 years of internal upheaval was a mistake ushered in by an erroneous theory. There were still some party members and cadres whose awareness of the necessity of negating this period of upheaval remained only perceptual; they had only a partial understanding of exactly what was wrong with such a "theory." This is why we organized those people into reviewing the "Party's Resolutions on Certain Historical Issues Since the Founding of the Nation" and proceeded to analyze the development, principal thesis and mistakes of the so-called "Theory of Continuous Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which was the guiding ideology of the "cultural revolution." Everyone began to recognize fully that this theory offered an erroneous assessment of the conditions of the classes and the class struggle in China subsequent to the socialist reform which eliminated private ownership of the means of production, that it judged wrongly the political situation of the party and the state and the internal conflicts confronting the nation and that it offered an incorrect interpretation of the fundamental mission of a socialist society. This "theory" blurred the line between right and wrong and propounded

a host of ultraleftist policies and measures which aimed at the so-called "class struggle" within the CPC and among the masses of cadres and intellectuals. The principal argument of this theory is that subsequent to the establishment of the proletarian regime and the socialist system, there should be a large-scale political revolution during which different classes continue to fight against each other. The "cultural revolution" was considered a most important format in which this kind of "continuous revolution" could take place. History has shown us that this theory does not conform to Marxism-Leninism and the conditions of China and that it can never bring about a "continuous revolution" but only devastating results to the party, the state and all people.

After having studied the "Resolutions by the CPC Central Committee on Economic Reform" passed by the 3d Plenum of the 12th Party Central Committee, we became more aware that one of the principal theses of Marxism is that the fundamental mission of socialism is the development of productive forces in society so that the people's material and cultural needs can be fulfilled as the society witnesses an increasing amount of material wealth. According to this thesis, subsequent to the socialist form of the ownership of the means of production, we should concentrate on the central domestic conflict that arises as inadequate productive forces fail to meet people's increasing material and cultural needs and strive to develop productive forces fully by shifting on economic construction. We should consciously strive to readjust those productive forces and reform the superstructure which is not suited to the economic base. We should also put under control the class struggle which exists within a certain framework and stress the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization whose central ideology is communism. These approaches are in keeping with the correct line of Marxism, to which the party Central Committee has adhered since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. It is because of this that our party and the state have been able to rise above a hopeless impasse and march toward a bright future. The so-called "Theory of Continuous Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" runs in the opposite direction of this line and can only topple our party and state.

After having engaged in such studies and discussions, the masses of party members and cadres not only were able to negate further the "cultural revolution" theoretically but also became more aware of how this ultraleftist theory had affected themselves. In summarizing their accomplishments, some cadres stated that they had been so poisoned by the ultraleftist theory prevalent during the "cultural revolution" that although they supported wholeheartedly the line, goal and policy of the party Central Committee, they were concerned that they might commit theoretical errors or actual mistakes. If we did not negate this kind of mentality and its pernicious influence, we would not be able to negate the "cultural revolution" thoroughly, be in keeping with the party Central Committee ideologically and politically and proceed with reform in firm strides.

(2) Fully recognize the harm factionalism can do; completely negate the two factions in the "cultural revolution" and eradicate factionalism.

So far as our university was concerned, factionalism manifested itself principally in two ways. Some party members insisted that the faction which they themselves had supported or had been involved with was the more acceptable one while others tended to view people and handle things on the basis of factional affiliation. In order to deal with the situation, we had to begin with the total negation of the "cultural revolution" in order to deal with factionalism in a "drastic manner."

First, we organized party members and cadres to review how the two factions in our school had formed and developed and what they had done and to analyze why both approaches were erroneous. We came to the consensus that both factions were brought forth under the guidance of the erroneous "Theory of Continuous Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and engaged in instigating "upheavals" and "power struggles." Each advertised itself as the "most revolutionary" and the "most legitimate rebellious clique" in order to seize power for factional gain. Each denounced those cadres who were enemies and promoted those who were friends; each played an active role in "persecuting people who supported Liu Shaoqi" and in "persecuting a group of people within the military"; each engaged in the violent destruction of school properties, buildings and facilities; and each competed with the other in taking people into custody for torture and questioning. So far as the "general approach" is concerned, the two factions were equally unwavering.

Second, we asked party members and cadres to expose and analyze the doings of factionalism. It was agreed that although factionalism had been a prevalent exercise for only 2 years during the "cultural revolution," it was a practice brought forth by self-interest under the guise of "varying political viewpoints" and characterized by the intense belief that "when a man is degraded, all his friends and relatives are degraded; when a man is promoted, all his friends and relatives are promoted," and was still affecting adversely the party in its effort to unite people. Some comrades treated those who had belonged to the same faction as themselves with trust and affection and those who had not with indifference, distrust and noncooperation. Factionalism was especially discernible when it came to personnel affairs. We were especially concerned that if we did not eradicate factionalism it might appear in a different form under the new circumstances. For example, some people tried in every possible way--at times even resorting to the methods of establishing ties used during the "cultural revolution"--to seek supporters within the party and among the masses. Everyone agreed that practices of this kind were remnants of factionalism and obstructed our work. The Communist Party cannot allow factional activity and a factional mentality. Communist Party members should not allow factionalism to replace or weaken party spirit. After having engaged in study, some party members became more aware of the nature and harm of factionalism, proceeded to evaluate their mistakes and factional behavior and expressed determination to overcome factionalism and individualism and strengthen party spirit.

(3) Recognize thoroughly how the "cultural revolution" devastated the construction of, and eliminate its pernicious influence on, the party.

The "cultural revolution" was a devastating event that aimed at destroying

party organizations of various levels and persecuting the masses of party members, cadres and intellectuals. It devastated the work that had been accomplished by the party. The aftermath of the "cultural revolution" can still be felt today. It affects the ideology of party members and cadres directly through remnants of the "leftist" ideology prevalent during the "cultural revolution" and indirectly through the negative influence of this ideology. We organized party members and cadres to purify these elements through a learning process. We discussed the following issues and engaged in criticism and self-criticism:

1. Politically, some party members summarized their experiences during the "cultural revolution" in a passive manner. Their determination to devote themselves to the cause of communism had been weakened or had wavered. They had lost, to one degree or another, the revolutionary spirit and political zeal that all Communist Party members should have.
2. Ideologically, some party members were unable to act in unison with the party Central Committee and demonstrated "leftist" or rightist tendencies while others failed to comprehend the line, goal and policy of the party since the Third Plenum, were indifferent to reform and the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals and resisted attempts to bring into full play the role of intellectuals. There were also some members who uttered erroneous viewpoints because they had been influenced by bourgeois liberalism.
3. In terms of workstyle, some party members had neglected to provide wholehearted services to the people and failed to harmonize personal and party interests because they were obsessed with themselves.
4. In terms of discipline, some party members lacked a sense of loyalty to their organizations and were still accustomed to the practice of the "great democracy," which interfered with the party's effort to implement the system of democratic centralization.
5. In terms of lifestyle, some party members debased the style of the party by discarding the fine tradition of democracy and criticism and self-criticism.

The consensus was the despite the fact that these practices were prevalent only among an extremely small number of party members, they were highly destructive to the party. Party members and cadres agreed that they must deal with these elements beginning with themselves and their own leading party groups through consolidation and the strengthening of the party's combat ability.

We proceeded to educate them on the "spirit, style and discipline of the party" by stressing the following three issues: "Communist party members must devote their lives to the cause of communism," and "the fundamental duty of a Communist Party member is to serve the people wholeheartedly" and to "be better disciplined in order to implement thoroughly the system of democratic centralization." We organized party members and cadres to engage in more intensive discussions in order to raise their understanding of these issues.

### III. Improve Our Policy and Method; Encourage Party Members To Be More Conscientious and Summarize Past Experiences.

We proposed to do away with the "leftist" approach of the past, resume and propagate the fine tradition and workstyle of the party, implement thoroughly the party's policies and stress self-education in order to make the masses of party members and cadres more conscious of the educational campaign which aimed at negating totally the "cultural revolution" and achieve our educational purpose.

We offered three suggestions concerning the ideological misgivings among certain party members and the status of the normal practice of democracy within the party. First, all party members, including those who committed mistakes of one kind or another during the "cultural revolution," should take the initiative in raising self-awareness, engaging in ideological purification, summarizing past experiences and strengthening party spirit. Second, we should distinguish the "three types of people" from those party members who erred during the "cultural revolution." This approach would facilitate the uncovering of the "three types of people" and win the support of the majority of people through an educational campaign. We should encourage those comrades who committed mistakes during the "cultural revolution" to take the initiative in purifying their thoughts. We should refrain from harassing, persecuting and pressuring our comrades. We should offer assistance, and criticism if necessary, to the handful of comrades who made serious mistakes and yet who insist that they "have always been right." Third, we should promote an open attitude in this educational campaign. We should adhere to the "four refusals"--refusal to capitalize on people's vulnerable points, refusal to put labels on people, refusal to come down with the big stick upon people and refusal to make targets out of people--and the "four permissions"--permission to redress mistakes, permission to withdraw already stated opinions, permission to defend oneself and permission to remain silent. We must revive and promote the fine tradition of the party, be practical and realistic and be on good terms with people in order to foster a democratic atmosphere.

We also proposed five studying methods. One is to study documents to increase awareness. A second is to take reality into consideration and summarize past experiences. A third is to promote heart-to-heart discussion sessions. A fourth is to engage in criticism and self-criticism. The fifth is that leading party members in the school and various departments should set good examples.

The educational campaign to negate totally the "cultural revolution" has expedited party consolidation and reform within our school. The masses of party members and cadres have further eliminated the pernicious influence of the "cultural revolution" and are more conscientious in their effort to rectify the practice of the party, strengthen the spirit of the party and be ideologically and politically consistent with the party Central Committee. As a result, we have unified ideology within the party and created advantageous conditions for a thorough party consolidation and a new phase in the school's reform effort.

12680  
CSQ: 4005/545

NORTH REGION

SHANXI CPC OFFICIAL GIVES GUIDANCE ON MASS MEDIA WORK

HK091107 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Mar 85 p 1

[Article: "Comrade Wang Kewen Invites Responsible Comrades of Taiyuan's Press, Publication, and Literature and Art Circles to Forum"]

[Text] Wang Kewen, deputy secretary of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee invited more than 50 responsible comrades of Taiyuan's press, publication, and literature and art circles to a forum on the afternoon of 16 March. According to Comrade Wang Kewen, who made the opening speech, the central authorities have recently given a series of important instructions on how to propagate and promote reform. These instructions have focused on one point, namely, requiring our press, radio, television and publication circles to work in coordination with the situation of the present reform of the economic structure, to do a good job in propagating, and to genuinely play the role of promoting reform. In reference to this, Comrade Wang Kewen made a three-point suggestion linked with the conditions of the province.

First, according to Comrade Wang Kewen, the press, radio and television as the party mass media tools linking with the masses, must regard as their tasks propagating what is helpful to the four modernizations, the development of social productive forces, the building of the "two civilizations," and the current reform. In order to fulfill this task, we must have a clear idea as to what should be the main points of our propaganda and coverage, what should be propagated in a big way, and what is not suitable. Comrade Wang Kewen quoted a statement made by Comrade Ren Bianshi long ago: the party is the vanguard of the proletariat; and the press belongs to the vanguard of the proletariat and must take a position in the vanguard of the proletariat and represent the view of the proletariat. Its political views, articles, speeches and actions must represent the interests of the party. It is necessary to educate the people, and to raise their political consciousness so that they may become new-type workers who have ideals and moral character, and are educated and disciplined, and so that their initiative and conscientiousness may be brought into play to realize the four modernizations and to implement the economic principle of enlivening the internal economy and opening to the outside world, making the country and people prosperous, and quadrupling output by the end of the 20th century. With the vigorous development of the four modernizations, we should all the more bear in mind the sacred duty of the press and publications. In recent years, the province's press has developed

rapidly. Today, 80 categories of newspapers are in open circulation, of which the overwhelming majority are run well; but some problems still exist, some of them fail to have a clear understanding of the basic tasks and focus of propaganda, while some individual newspapers are following the bad example of some tabloids, propagating fantasies, absurdities, and pornography. Despite the fact that they are individual cases, they deserve our attention. Recently some tabloids which have been shoddily produced, have appeared on many street corners and their contents are vulgar, exerting a very bad influence among the masses. There are two reasons for their publication: First, to make money. They have purposely carried cases of murder, and fantastic, absurd, pornographic and criminal things with a view to attracting readers, in disregard of their ignoble effects, and some people have even whitewashed them as enriching the cultural life of the masses. Second, to confuse the demarcation line between freedom of creation and the freedom of the press, some people have one-sidedly extended the freedom of creation to the freedom of the press. As a result, they have shrunk from censuring and controlling unhealthy tabloids in the streets, and such an understanding is erroneous. The press and publication units are the party's means of propaganda, they should have explicit tasks and strict discipline, and they should unconditionally propagate the party's line, principles and policies, and give expression to the life and struggles of the people working hard for the four modernizations. The press and publication departments must conduct strict censure based on the party's principles. In enriching the cultural life of the masses, we must link education with interest, dedicating healthy and positive spiritual food to the people, in order to stimulate the people's passion in serving the four modernizations.

Second, we must persist in the truthfulness of the press, and guard against falsehoods in coverage. We grasped the question of truthfulness of the press in 1984, which has been fruitful. "SHANXI RIBAO" has got to come to grips with this question in party rectification in order to unify ideology, and it has done rather a good job. Anything carried in the press, criticism and commendation alike, should not be done arbitrarily. If commendation and criticism have not been conducted in a truth-seeking manner, we should earnestly sum our experiences and draw lessons from them. In criticism, "cultural revolution" language should be avoided together with abuse. The lack of truthfulness and the use of improper language have counter effects and even if those under criticism did commit mistakes, the use of improper language will produce bad effects among the masses. Therefore, it is first necessary to check on the truthfulness of the articles bearing criticism; second, it is necessary to allow those being criticized to read the criticism before publication when the facts concerned are verified. Some comrades describe such action as conducting a lawsuit before it is given publicity in the press instead of having it carried in the press before a debate is unfolded over some disputable points. We should not generally regard disagreement from those under criticism themselves as refusing criticism, not to mention declaring them doubly guilty. Our objective is to educate people. If we find points in our reports and articles which are not truthful enough, we should be bold at correcting them in public. We must treat others with the viewpoint of materialism; meanwhile, it is all the more necessary for us to examine ourselves in the same light. Only then will we be able to raise the prestige of the party as well as the press.

Recently, people from other provinces have been saying that a certain typical example given much publicity in certain Shanxi newspapers is "rich in experience, but does not yield wealth," which has something in common with the typical example much propagated a few years back, which "yielded experience only, but no grain." We shall not question these formulations further, nor shall we be unhappy about it. On the contrary, this should serve as a reminder to us that in the course of the reform of propaganda work, the press should be practical in the coverage of reform, and there is no hurry to cover those things which we are not quite sure of. We must refrain from exaggerating the facts in our coverage, we must be meticulous, and attention must be paid to social effects. Untruths in news coverage should be regarded as one of the new unhealthy tendencies. Propaganda departments should guard against the emergence of new unhealthy tendencies while carrying out party rectification, in particular, we must guard against the practice of following blindly the propaganda of some responsible departments, going after the coverage of fancy things, which are false, boastful and empty, and in effect, propagating unhealthy tendencies. Now a wider and wider range of topics are to be covered. Confronting the new situation and conditions, we are required to make deep-going investigation and research. While implementing reform in propaganda work, we should simultaneously improve our work.

Third, local newspapers must demonstrate their own characteristics. According to Wang Kewen, the Central Committee has all along advocated that local newspapers should display their own characteristics. What does one's own characteristics mean? This question deserves some thought. If all large, medium, and small newspapers are all of one type, there will be no individual characteristics to speak of. Provincial, prefectoral, city and county newspapers, professional newspapers of different categories, and newspapers run by enterprises should each have their own focus according to division of labor. The larger portion of each newspaper should be devoted to things concerning its own field, and the portion devoted to international and home affairs should be comparatively smaller. More than 80 or 90 percent of the contents of professional newspapers and papers run by enterprises should concern affairs of their own fields or departments, likewise those of newspapers run by grassroots units. They should find their own characteristics within the common nature of the press; just as is the case with a famous brand of commodity, there is a common criterion for commodities of the same category, but the famous brand has its own advantages. And just as was the case with some regiments of the army in the past, they all had something in common, but each had its individual characteristics. For instance, some were strong on the offensive, others on the defensive. Newspapers should also create their own characteristics based on their own conditions by bringing into play their own merits and advantages. Only then will it be possible to make all categories of newspapers genuinely give expression to the vigorous reform from different angles. We should bring into full play their capabilities and advantages, and render service to reform through exploration and practice.

CSO: 4005/788

NORTHEAST REGION

HOUSING FRAUD EXPOSED

Shenyang GONGCHANDANG YUAN [COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER] in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 p 23

[Article by staff reporter Lu Lian [7627 5571]: "The Farcical Housing Fraud Will End Soon"]

[Text] Are the Houses Really Built Specifically for Intellectuals?

The question raised in Lu Buping's letter is a matter concerning the party's reputation. This reporter decided to make an investigation. The first thing to find out was whether the houses in question at the plant were specifically built for the intellectuals.

It was found out that on 15 March and 21 June 1983 the units above the optical instrument and meter plant--the Tiedong District Industry Bureau (now an industrial company) and the District Planning Commission, both of Anshan City--indeed received from the plant two reports requesting approval for housing construction, which were similar in general content. The following is the text of the 21 June report:

To District Industry Bureau and District Planning Commission:

Thanks to the support and solicitude of the District Party Committee and the Bureau Party Committee, the scientific and technical personnel of this factory have displayed great enthusiasm in work and in developing new products. Full of pride and enthusiasm, they are striving to make contributions to the four modernizations drive, but at present they have a serious housing problem. Comrade Liu Xueli, deputy plant manager and assistant engineer, has no house. Comrade Duan Yuchang, engineer and member of the municipal CPPCC committee, and his family, which consists of five people of three generations, live in one room. In order to solve the middle-aged intellectuals' housing problem as soon as possible, permission is requested for investing in two housing units (a one-room unit and a two-room unit) to be built at the site of the Health Department (referring to a fairly good site to the south of the Lieshishan, Anshan City). The plant now has an enterprise fund totalling 105,052.27 yuan, from which the money can be drawn. Your approval and coordination with the District Government and other relevant departments on this matter will be appreciated.

## Anshan Optical Instrument and Meter Plant (seal)

After receiving the reports, the leadership of the District Industry Bureau realized that the intellectuals of the plant really had a housing problem. The Liu Xueli referred to in the report was living in a simply constructed one-room unit loaned to him by his wife's organization, and the low, dark and damp room was used for all cooking, sleeping and studying purposes. Moreover, it was more than 10 li away from his job. Duan Yuchang's situation, just as the report described, was also very difficult. Other intellectuals also had housing problems, but the hardship suffered by these two families was by far the worst. It was so bad that no one who saw it could remain indifferent. So, in order to implement policy and solve the intellectuals' housing problem, the leadership of the Industry Bureau gave its approval to the plant's report, after consulting the district leadership, the district tax bureau and other relevant units. A formal reply was sent to the plant on 25 July 1983.

On the eve of the 1984 Spring Festival, two well located and constructed new housing units were completed. Normally, according to what the report requested, the two houses would be turned over to the two intellectuals, and thus the party's policy would be implemented. However, this did not happen. The factory leadership went back on their promises, deceived the leadership at higher levels, played tricks with the party's policies, pretended to be concerned about the intellectuals and created a scandal.

### Principal Plant Leaders Did Not Scruple To Get Houses by Crooked Means

This reporter, together with leading comrades of the District Party Committee Organization Department and the District Discipline Inspection Commission went to the plant to investigate. On the wall in the office of the secretary of the Plant General Party Branch, we saw "seven rules for members of the leading body." The first "rule": You must not use your power to seek personal gain or special privileges; you should do first what you ask the masses to do; you should not accept dinner invitations or gifts; and you should not give dinners or send gifts using public funds. The second "rule": You should not profit at public expense, take anything from the plant, or use motor vehicles or other things without permission....

I was deeply touched. How well the "rules," like the report, were written! How good it would have been had these words been matched with deeds! I could not help starting to copy down the seven rules. Just then we were asked to go to another room to talk with someone. The talk brought to light the unfortunate fact that for their personal interests, the principal leading cadres of the plant did not scruple about going back on their words and playing tricks. The tricks they played were rather complicated, enough to make me feel dazzled. My investigation continued with the assistance of many people and culminated with a talk to Hong Xingshi, secretary of the Plant General Party Branch, himself. Finally I was able to sum up the "trilogy" they had "performed" in order to take possession of the houses.

Act One: Muddying the Water. Special approval was obtained from higher levels for the use of enterprise funds to build two housing units for two specifically named middle-aged intellectuals. The houses were built, but there were three units. Where did the third unit come from? It turned out that it was a house (a two-room unit) which had been built earlier at the same site by the plant using its welfare funds and which was now ready for use simultaneously with the other two units. There was no connection between the two separate housing projects. Logically a discussion should be held only about who was to get this third house. The principle leading cadres of the plant, however, insisted on "lumping the houses together and redistributing them," and thus two housing units became three. Which two of the three housing units were specifically built for the intellectuals were no longer clear. In muddy waters it was good for fishing.

Act Two: Using Your Mouths to Serve My Purpose. As soon as it was learned that the houses were soon to be available, General Party Branch Secretary Hong Xingshi called and presided over a meeting of the General Party Branch Committee to "discuss" distribution of the houses. Next the matter was handed over to the presidium of the Congress of Staff Members and Workers for discussion. Two sessions were held. The second and "deciding" session was attended by five persons, three of whom were not members of the presidium (which had more than 20 members). General Party Branch Secretary Hong Xingshi by then became concurrent director of the plant. By virtue of his two leading positions, he was naturally the chairman of the presidium. Yet he attended but did not preside over the meeting. Instead, the chairman of the Plant Trade Union presided over the meeting and put forward a plan for distribution of the houses for discussion by those present. The house (built with welfare fund) which should be discussed was not put forward for discussion by the plan, but the two houses built for the two engineers were. At the crucial moment, Hong, in his triple capacity as secretary, director and presidium chairman, stepped forward to give encouragement, offer explanations and make his intentions known.

Thus by juggling all three units ended up in the hands of leading cadres. General Party Branch Secretary and concurrently Plant Director Hong Xingshi and Deputy Plant Director and concurrently Deputy General Party Branch Secretary Wang Jikuan each got a two-room unit. The one-room unit was given to Wu Henian, a party member and section chief, in exchange for his current living quarters. A room evacuated by Hong Xingshi's son and an "inner room" evacuated by Wang Jikuan were given to Liu and Duan, the two engineers. Before the Spring Festival, the leading cadres happily moved into the new houses to spend a happy holiday, but the masses were filled with pent-up anger.

Act Three: Spreading Strange "Theoretical Grounds." To hoodwink the masses and suppress criticism, they came up with a number of "theoretical grounds." The first was the "halter theory." Hong said, "My house is what the district owes me. It came with a 'halter' and is not subject to discussion." In fact, the district never owed him any housing. The second was the "contribution theory." Hong said, "The difficulty in

distributing the houses was in 'contributions.' Engineer Duan is an honest person. However, he specializes in foundry work and is unfamiliar with optical technology. His work is of a general nature. He has been with the plant only for a short period of time, and hasn't made any noticeable contributions. The way the houses are distributed only shows how we take care of him. Assistant Engineer Liu Xueli is pretty good in work, but he is not strong in managerial ability...."

How different these words are from those in the "report"! And he openly or implicitly boasted about his great contributions to the plant: Since he arrived in the plant in August 1980, the plant has taken three giant strides forward in 3 years, has been rated three times in a row as a civilized unit, has met requirements in enterprise consolidation the first time it was subjected to an examination, and so on and so forth. The third was the "favor theory." At a housing appraisal meeting on 6 December 1983, Hong said: The economic situation of the plant was such that it was absolutely impossible for the higher level to approve the construction of houses for the intellectuals, and it was only because I and the plant director appealed to the secretary of the District Party Committee that approval was given for using enterprise funds to build the houses. He also told this reporter that Duan Yuchang's engineer job title was "hitched" because he was in this plant and that he became a member of the municipal CPPCC committee because "we recommended him." He said" Assistant Engineer Liu Xueli was transferred from Changchun to Anshan only because we consented to the transfer, and later we promoted him to deputy plant director, made him a member of the general party branch committee....

#### Hong Xingshi's Present Attitude

When the fraud perpetrated by the optical instrument and meter plant in brazenly taking possession of houses built for the intellectuals was discovered, the matter was taken seriously by both the municipal and district party committees. The Municipal Party Committee Office for Implementation of Policy Toward Intellectuals conducted an investigation, and several joint investigation teams were sent by the district to look into the case. On 31 July 1984, a leading comrade of the District Party Committee clearly pointed out: It was wrong for the plant leadership to request construction of houses in the name of intellectuals and move into the houses themselves. The houses should be returned to the originally designated owners. If the offenders refuse to correct their mistakes despite admonition, the party will take disciplinary actions against them. Later on, concerned district leading comrades repeatedly called on Hong Xingshi and the others to work on them, but nothing happened. Hong said that he agreed that the house should be returned. But what did he mean by than? He meant that Wang Jikuan should return to where he lived before, but he himself would not move. Wang Jikuan had his own ideas, and he checked into a hospital a month ago. So Hong looked Duan up to "work on him," promising that the plant would buy another house for him the next year on condition that he did not ask Wang Jikuan to give up the new house. On 12 December 1984, this reporter called on Hong and asked him point-blank about his responsibility for

what had happened. This general party branch secretary and plant director, who joined the party in 1975 and who had 9 years of schooling, said with rather strong emotion: "I am responsible for suggesting to give Wang Jikuan a new house, which I should not have done." He said nothing about the house he occupied.

On 18 December before distribution of the afternoon press release, this reporter received a phone call from Comrade Sun Yutang, deputy secretary of the Tiedong District Discipline Inspection Commission, in Anshan City, expressing thanks to this publication for conducting the investigation. He told this reporter that the District Party Committee and the District Discipline Inspection Commission has held a meeting on this matter on 18 December and adopted a four-point decision: 1. Hong, Wang and Wu will move out from all the new houses they have occupied and back to where they lived before. 2. The two new housing units built by the District Government for the intellectuals will be reassigned to the intellectuals. 3. The new housing unit built with the plant's welfare fund will be turned over to the Presidium of the Plant Congress of Staff Members and Workers for reassignment. 4. Comrades Hong and Wang will make sincere and serious self-criticism. Thus, the housing fraud farce is about to end.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ELIMINATION OF 'THREE SUPPORTS, TWO MILITARIES' URGED

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 85 p 1

[Report by Huang Yuyi [7806 3022 5030] and Ye Xianying [0673 7359 5391]]

[Text] In order to strengthen education to thoroughly negate the "cultural revolution" and eradicate the negative influence of the "three supports and two militaries," leading comrades of the party committee and organs of the Hainan Military District paid a visit to responsible comrades of the Hainan District CPC Committee, the District Government, the Haikou City CPC Committee and the City Government yesterday morning.

In the course of party consolidation, the Hainan Military District CPC Committee and office party organizations have regarded education to thoroughly negate the "cultural revolution" as an important task to achieve unity in thinking and made serious efforts to eradicate the negative influence of the "three supports and two militaries." At a discussion meeting during the visit, Wang Xing [3769 2502], political commissar of the Hainan Military District, acting on behalf of the military district party committee, sincerely examined the mistakes committed by the military district in carrying out "three supports and two militaries" tasks in light of Hainan's realities and apologized to the cadres and masses who were hurt by these mistakes. He also expressed heartfelt thanks to the local comrades for their concern and support for the strengthening of units under the military district.

Yao Wenxu, secretary of the Hainan District CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting. He said: On the question of thoroughly negating the "cultural revolution," an explanation was made in clear-cut terms in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 3d [as printed] Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. "The chaos was such that it was necessary to send in the People's Liberation Army to support the left, the workers and the peasants and to institute military control and military training. It played a positive role in stabilizing the situation, but it also produced some negative consequences." In the course of party consolidation, leading comrades of the military district have conducted education to thoroughly negate the "cultural revolution" and vigorously and actively eradicated the negative consequences of the "three supports and two militaries," thus setting a good example for the local comrades. Comrade Yao Wenxu continued: The first stage of party consolidation has begun in our district. We should learn from the army,

strengthen education to thoroughly negate the "cultural revolution," eradicate "left" influence, get rid of factionalism, strengthen party spirit, rectify party style, enforce party discipline, do a good job in party-building, further strengthen army-government and army-people unity and work together for Hainan's development.

Present at yesterday's discussion meeting were also: Pang Weiqiang [1690 3634 1730], commander, Fu Zhiluo [4569 1807 3157] and Bian Guixiang [6708 6311 4382], advisers, and leading comrades of organs, of the Hainan Military District; Wei Zefang [7279 3419 5364], Pan Qiongxiong [3382 8825 7160], Lin Taosen [2651 2711 2773] and Zhang Jintao [4545 6930 3447], responsible comrades of the Hainan District CPC Committee; Dong Fanyuan [5516 5400 0954] and Xie Zonghui [6200 1350 6540], responsible comrades of the Haian District Government; Zhao Guangju [6392 0342 3515], responsible person of the preparatory group for the District People's Congress; Chen Kegong [7115 0460 2396], responsible person of the preparatory group for the District CPPCC Committee; and Lin Mingyu [2651 2494 3768] and Li Jinyun [2621 6855 0061], leading comrades of the Haikou City CPC Committee and the Haikou City Government. In their speeches, they all called for efforts to strengthen army-government and army-people unity in the new historical period and work together with one heart for the four modernizations.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

RESULTS SEEN IN MILITARY-PEOPLE COOPERATION

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 85 p 1

[Report by Chen Yongqiang [7115 3057 1730]]

[Text] Naval flight units stationed on the island have actively promoted a movement for soldiers and civilians to join each other in building a socialist spiritual civilization. In the past year or so, 207 joint development centers have been set up in the district, 27 of which were named advanced units of counties or of Hainan District, and 4 were named advanced units of Guangdong Province in building socialist spiritual civilization. In addition, 1,280 households were named "five-good families." All this has contributed to the building of the material and spiritual civilizations on Hainan Island and the modernization and regularization of the units.

In the course of the joint military-civilian movement, the naval flight units, in conjunction with the "five stresses, four beauties and three loves" activities, have actively helped the local people set up more than 180 cultural establishments including cultural rooms, evening schools, clubs, young militiamen's homes and so forth, which help the masses in learning politics, acquiring general and scientific knowledge and launching healthy and useful cultural and sports activities. The units also enthusiastically help the local people run schools and provide after-school guidance. They have dispatched a total of 560 after-school activities guidance groups and more than 1,200 after-school activities counsellors. When the Wuli Primary school in Lingshui County was faced with difficulties after two of its classrooms were destroyed by typhoon, a certain locally stationed regiment took the initiative to collect contributions and dispatched vehicles to help the school repair buildings and buy desks and chairs. It also sent cadres and fighters to repair doors and windows and donated a number of books and educational supplies. The units also enthusiastically help the joint development centers in such activities as educating juvenile delinquents to turn over a new leaf, organizing young people to develop useful activities, organizing military-civilian get-togethers, ball games and discussion meetings and publicizing the legal system. As a result, the standard of social conduct has changed markedly for the better. The units also actively take the lead in learning from Lei Feng, fostering a new spirit and treating each other with warmth. In the past year, they have formed 485 learn-from-Lei Feng groups, voluntary service groups and warmth groups, performed more than 15,000 good deeds for the masses of the people, taken care of 431

families entitled to the five guarantees, families with material difficulties and families of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen and trained 489 technicians in various fields as a free service for the masses.

Serving the needs of national construction, the naval flight units stationed on the island also take the initiative to support Hainan's major development and construction projects. Since the last year, they have contributed more than 222,000 workdays and dispatched vehicles and machines on more than 13,000 occasions in support of 18 large and small projects. One of these projects, the Haikou airfield extension project, undertaken on a contract basis, was started in November last year, and so far more than 75,600 mandays of work involving the use of more than 5,800 vehicles and machines have been put in. In May last year, because the Haikou airfield was under extension, civil airliners used a military airfield belonging to the naval flight units on the island for landing and takeoff. The unit stationed at the airfield voluntarily evacuated a part of the barracks and reduced the restricted military area to help civil aviation maintain air traffic. The flight unit stationed in Sanya City, a main tourist attraction, has voluntarily opened the Sanya airfield to the public in order to help the island open up more new domestic routes.

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7 May 1985

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

## BRIEFS

MILITARY CADRES COMMENDED--Recently the party committee of a certain naval flight unit stationed on Hainan Island awarded merit citations, third class, and commendations to 25 cadres and fighters of its engineer and construction company for outstanding services rendered in support of the Haikou airfield extension project. The engineer and construction company was organized at the beginning of 1984 for the purpose of supporting the key construction projects on Hainan Island. In a 10-month period, the company's commanders and fighters, fearing neither hardship nor difficulty, made vigorous efforts to complete the preparatory work for the construction of the airfield extension project, gaining time for construction to start on schedule and saving money for the state. [By Chen Chuangguang [7115 0482 0342]] [Text] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 85 p 1] 12802

AIR REGIMENT ACHIEVEMENTS--In early December last year, in an examination for A-class regiments organized by higher organizations, a certain flight regiment stationed on the island did very well with an overall outstanding rating for all five subjects and joined the ranks of A-class regiments 40 days ahead of schedule. The regiment is the first naval flight unit equipped with Chinese-built high-altitude, high-speed fighter planes. This year, after receiving its training assignments as an A-class regiment, the regiment carried out an extensive and thorough ideological mobilization. At the same time, in light of actual conditions, it carried out a serious and painstaking study on how to accomplish its training missions as an A-class regiment, formulated measures and put forward a guiding ideology for training, which focuses on becoming an A-class regiment, stresses insuring safety and makes strengthening the unit in as all-round way the standard. As of the end of the last year, through the joint efforts of commanders and fighters, the regiment had superbly and safely overfulfilled its annual time and subject targets, with 65.5 percent of its pilots registering more than 100 hours of flight time, the best record in the regiment's history. At the end of the last year, it was named by its division an advanced regiment in quality and safety. [By Zhang Yihua [1728 3015 5478]] [Text] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 85 p 3] 12802

NAVY ADVANCED FINANCE UNIT--A certain naval unit of the South China Sea Fleet stationed on the island was recently named an all-PLA advanced unit in finance work and received an order of recognition and commendation jointly issued by the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Central Military Commission and the Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department and

the General Logistics Department of the PLA. The unit's party committee pays great attention to financial management and the strengthening of the ranks of finance personnel ideologically and professionally. Each year the unit runs a training class for finance personnel and conducts a financial inspection to enable all finance personnel to "manage financial matters and do things in an economical way." As of the end of the last year, the unit had saved about 500,000 yuan from its expenditures and solved more than 100 practical problems found at the grassroots level. [By Wang Guoli [3076 0948 4539] and Shen Jinling [3476 6855 7117]] [Text] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 85 p 3] 12802

DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED--To meet the situation and requirement of development and opening to the outside world, with the approval of the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the China Democratic League, the preparatory committee for the Hainan Administrative District Committee of the China Democratic League was formally established yesterday. Tao Dayong [7118 1129 6978], standing committee member of the CPPCC National Committee and vice chairman of the China Democratic League Central Committee, who is currently visiting Hainan, attended the meeting and gave a speech. Responsible persons of the Hainan District CPC Committee United Front Work Department and the Haikou City CPC Committee United Front Work Department attended the inauguration meeting on invitation. The preparatory committee for the Hainan Administrative District Committee of the China Democratic League is composed of 18 members with Zhou Zheng [6650 6927] as chairman, Lin Ying [2651 5391], Xu Lufeng [6079 6922 6265] and Chen Xiufa [7115 0208 4099] as vice chairmen, and Chen Xiufa as secretary general (concurrently). [By Xing Yidi [6717 6095 6611]] [Text] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 85 p 1] 12802

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